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CHRONICA

Editor: BALÁZS DANKA

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Preface

Sixth International Conference on the Medieval History of the Eurasian
Steppe
Szeged, November 23–25, 2016

The Departments of Altaic Studies and Medieval History together with the MTA–SZTE Turkological Research Group at the University of Szeged organized the Sixth International Conference on Medieval History of the Eurasian Steppe in Szeged in November 23–25, 2016. The Medieval Nomads evolved from the conferences on the history of medieval nomads of the Eurasian steppe held in 1997, 2000 and 2002 at the University of Szeged. These early conferences were the forum for the Hungarian historians and orientalists and the proceedings were published in Hungarian. In 2004 it was decided to convene an International Conference on Medieval History of the Eurasian Steppe. The first conference of this kind was held in Szeged in 2004, the second in Jászberény in 2007, the third in Miskolc in 2009 (Hungary), the fourth in Cairo in 2011 (Egypt), and the fifth in Moscow in 2013. The proceedings have been published in *Acta Orientalia* (58: 2005), *Chronica* (7–8: 2007–8), *Chronica* (11:2011), *Bjulleten'* (Newsletter) *Obshchestva vostokovedov*. Vyp. 21. Moscow 2014. The preliminary program of the conference included 38 lectures and the participants came from China, Germany, Spain, Bulgaria, Rumania, Japan, Russia, Turkey besides the Hungarian experts. On 24 November 2016 started the first working day at 9 o'clock. Zoltán Vajda, the vice-dean of the Faculty of Arts greeted the participants and opened the conference. István Zimonyi, the head of the Department of Altaic Studies and the Department of Medieval History made preliminary remarks on the study of present stage of nomadic peoples of Eurasian steppe in Hungary. Then the lectures were read till 6 pm. On 25 November the conference continued with lectures in parallel sections. The majority of presentations followed by lively debate. In the evening there was a reception for the participants.

I express special thank to my colleagues from University of Szeged, Szilvia Kovács and Márton Vér for their organizing work before and during the conference. As for the publication I asked the head of the Historical Institute at the Faculty of Arts, Richard Szántó to include the proceedings in *Chronica*, the Annual of the Historical Institute, which he kindly accepted. I thank to Balázs Danko who made extraordinary efforts for the editorial work.

István Zimonyi

A Prosopographical Approach to Medieval Eurasian Nomads

AGUSTÍ ALEMANY*



The major prosopographical works devoted to Eurasian empires include entries relating to “persons from outside the frontiers” of some relevance to these historical periods (or at least mentioned by the sources), steppe nomads among them. However, the latter are paid secondary attention, since the main objective of these works is often the study of the ruling elites (“Führungsschichten”) of the aforesaid empires. This paper discusses the usefulness, viability and methodology of prosopographical research collecting biographical data about Inner Asian and, more concretely, Medieval Eurasian nomads.

In the last century – and especially in the last decades – several major works have been produced, dealing with the prosopography of the Roman (PIR¹), Late Roman (PLRE²), Byzantine (PBE³, PBW⁴, PmbZ⁵, PLP⁶, EPLBHC / ΕΠΛΒΗΚ),

* Paper funded by the Research Project FFI2014-58878P (Spain).

¹ *Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I. II. III*, vols. I–VIII, ed. E. Groag, A. Stein, L. Petersen, K. Wachtel, M. Heil, W. Eck & J. Heinrichs, Berlin 1933–2015² (erste Auflage: vols. I–III, ed. E. Klebs, H. Dessau & P. de Rohden, Berlin 1897–1898).

² *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. I A.D. 260–395, ed. A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale & J. Morris, Cambridge 1971; vols. II. A.D. 395–527 & III. A.D. 527–641, ed. J.R. Martindale, Cambridge 1980–1992.

³ *The Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire*, vol. I. A.D. 641–867, ed. J. Martindale, CD-ROM edition Farnham 2001, online edition King’s College London 2014 (<http://www.pbe.kcl.ac.uk>).

⁴ *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* (A.D. 1025–1150), ed. M. Jeffreys *et al.*, online edition King’s College London 2006, 2011² (<http://pbw.kcl.ac.uk>).

⁵ *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, ed. F. Winkelmann, R.-J. Lilie, C. Ludwig, T. Pratsch, I. Rochow, B. Zielke *et al.*, Abt. I. 641–867, Prolegomena + Bde. I–VI, Berlin–New York 1998–2002; Abt. II. 867–1025, Prolegomena + Bde. I–VIII, Berlin–New York 2009–2013; online version (<https://www.degruyter.com/view/db/pmbz>).

⁶ *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (A.D. 1261–1453), vols. I–XII + Add. I–II, ed. E. Trapp, H.-V. Beyer, R. Walther *et al.*, Vienna 1976–1996; CD-ROM & online edition 2001, VÖAW (<http://hw.oeaw.ac.at/3310-3>).

Sasanian (PS3⁷), Arabic (OA⁹) or Chinese (CBDB¹⁰) empires, just to mention those related to the three main geographical zones of origin of the sources on Central Eurasia (West, Centre and East). Most of them include entries relating to “persons from outside the frontiers” of some relevance to these historical periods (or at least mentioned by the sources), steppe nomads among them; however, the latter, similarly to other foreigners, are paid secondary attention, since the main objective of these works is often the study of the ruling elites (“Führungsschichten”) of the aforesaid empires.

The purpose of this paper is the discussion of the usefulness, viability and methodology of a prosopographical research collecting biographical data about Inner Asian and, more concretely, Medieval Eurasian nomads. The three basic questions which we will try to answer are ‘what’, ‘why’ and ‘how’, including a sample basic research on the Hun period after the materials gathered in *PLRE I-II*.

What? Quoting Averil Cameron, “prosopography – ‘writing about individuals’, or ‘the recording of persons’ – is one methodology which gathers and digests information about the individual persons who are attested in a particular historical period”.¹¹ Prosopography is not interested just in extraordinary personalities, like biography, but also in average people. It does not deal with the study of proper names, like onomastics, although onomastic research can be useful to prosopography insofar it offers additional information on the origin, social extraction and other traits of individuals. It does not intend to trace a person’s ancestors or to reconstruct his family and lineage, like genealogy, even if these data can be helpful to evaluate the social background of a person. It is not devoted to the description of various social strata, classes or groups, like sociography, albeit this science relies on prosopographical research in order to achieve a better understanding of the circulation of diverse people in different social milieux.¹²

⁷ *Encyclopaedic Prosopographical Lexicon of Byzantine History and Civilization* (A.D. 300–1500), vols. I–III (up to Juwayni, al-), ed. A.G.C. Savvides, B. Hendrickx *et al.*, Turnhout 2007–2013, English version of Εγκυκλο-παιδικό προσωπογραφικό λεξικό βυζαντινής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού, vols. I–VI (up to Εφραίμ), ed. A. Savvides, Athens 1996–2006 (simultaneously ongoing works).

⁸ *Prosopographie des Sasanidenreiches im 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (A.D. 224–300), ed. U. Weber, Universität Kiel, 2006 (<http://www.klassalt2.uni-kiel.de>).

⁹ *Onomasticon Arabicum online*, ed. J. Sublet and Ch. Müller, CNRS (<http://onomasticon.irht.cnrs.fr>), a project dating back to 1966 and taking as a starting point the homonymous work by G. Gabrieli and L. Caetani (Rome 1915).

¹⁰ *China Biographical Database Project*, initiated by the late R. M. Hartwell and developed through collaboration between Academia Sinica, Harvard University and Peking University, both online and standalone freely accessible databases (<http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/cbdb>).

¹¹ Preface to A. Cameron (ed.), *Fifty Years of Prosopography. The Later Roman Empire, Byzantium and Beyond*, Oxford 2003, xiii.

¹² Extracted from K. Verboven–M. Carlier–J. Dumolyn, “A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography,” in: *Prosopography. Approaches and Applications. A Handbook*, ed.

The idea of applying the prosopographical method to Medieval Eurasian nomads is not new. It was already suggested long time ago by Pentti Aalto¹³ and Klaus Sagaster¹⁴ for the Mongol period and, in fact, it has found response in the Mongol Prosopography project based at the University of Jerusalem, which “aims at recording the surviving information about the individuals who were active under Mongol rule in the 13th and 14th centuries”.¹⁵ However, the database is not publicly available, which makes difficult to evaluate the provisional results of such a gigantic enterprise. More recently, in a similar way, the late Denis Sinor suggested that “a Türk prosopography could render signal service”¹⁶ and István Vásáry stated that “for any essential progress in historical research, it would be a task of pivotal importance to compile a Nogay-Tatar prosopography”.¹⁷ But except for the above-mentioned project such suggestions remain a desideratum for now.

Why? Imperial nomads of the Pre-Mongol period have been paid little or no attention from a prosopographical perspective.¹⁸ In fact, several objections can be raised against such an approach: sources are often scarce and therefore the number of individuals is necessarily limited; in most cases, known persons are *hápax legómena* and no *cursus honorum* can be reconstructed for them, with the exception of a few individuals, often in the service of sedentary empires; and, taking into account that *PIR*, the first modern prosopography, was planned by

K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, *Prosopographica et Genealogica* 13, Oxford 2007, 35–69 (see 37–41). Examples from the field of Central Eurasian studies: for biography, I. de Rachewiltz *et al.* (eds.) *In the Service of the Khan. Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period*, Wiesbaden 1993; for onomastics, V. Rybatzki, *Die Personennamen und Titel der mittelmongolischen Dokumente. Eine lexikalische Untersuchung*, Helsinki 2006; for genealogy, H. T. Toh, *Materials for a Genealogy of the Niohuru Clan* (Aetas Manjurica 10), Wiesbaden 2005; for sociography, W. Eberhard, *Das Toba-Reich Nord-Chinas. Eine soziologische Untersuchung*, Leiden 1949.

¹³ P. Aalto, review of W. Heissig's edition of *Altan kürdün mingyan gegesütü bičig*. In: *FUF* 33 (1958), 48–49. “es wäre m.E. zu wünschen, dass er (Heissig) schon bald eine «Prosopographia Mongolica» herausgegeben würde”.

¹⁴ K. Sagaster, “Some Reflections on a Prosopography of Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism”, *CAJ* 12/2 (1968–1969), 144–148.

¹⁵ *Mobility, Empire and Cross Cultural Contacts in Mongol Eurasia*, under the guidance of M. Biran and developed by a team of programmers headed by Alon Klein-Orbach (<http://mongol.huji.ac.il/database>).

¹⁶ D. Sinor, “Some components of the civilization of the Türks (6th–8th century A.D.)”, in: *Altaistic Studies. Papers Presented at the 25th Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference at Uppsala June 7–11, 1982*, ed. G. Jarring, S. Rosén, Stockholm 1985, 145–159 (see 145, 149).

¹⁷ I. Vásáry, “On the Periphery of the Islamic World: Diplomatic Correspondence of the Nogays with the Russians”, *Annales islamologiques* 41 (2007), 31–40 (see 35).

¹⁸ See some useful ideas in H. Ahrweiler, “Byzantine Concepts of the Foreigner: The Case of the Nomads,” In: *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. H. Ahrweiler, A.E. Laiou, Washington D.C. 1998, 1–15; E. Chrysos, “Romans and Foreigners”, In: *Fifty Years of Prosopography. The Later Roman Empire, Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. A. Cameron, Oxford 2003, 119–136.

Theodor Mommsen as a supplement to epigraphic corpora, the absence of inscriptions (or other written documents) in the nomadic world before the eighth century is no good omen, and their relative scarcity in later periods forces us to rely heavily on the fragmentary and often biased reports left by sedentary neighbors.

However, we can turn the tide if we conceive a “nomadic” prosopography as a tool devised to overcome all these drawbacks and their worst consequence, the abuse of vague conjectures and hazardous hypotheses –which often become established truths– by scholars trying to fill the gaps of our knowledge. The following is a sample case illustrating this point.

Goar the Alan is only mentioned by two sources: quoting the 5th century historian Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, Gregory of Tours recalls that Goar left the main body of the Alans and joined with the Romans (*Goare ad Romanos transgresso*) before the Rhine crossing on 31 December 406.¹⁹ On the other side, according to Olympiodorus, in 411 he (Γῶαρ τοῦ Ἀλανοῦ) and Guntiarius, tribal chief of the Burgundians, supported the proclamation of Jovinus as Emperor at Mundiacum in Germania Secunda.²⁰ None of these sources calls Goar *rex* or anything similar, but he is labeled as a “king of the Alans” almost everywhere (even in *PLRE II* 514-5). That is partially because a third source, the life of Germanus of Auxerre by Constantius of Lyons, mentions an Alan king (*Eochari ferocissimo Alanorum regi*) who was allowed by Aetius ca. 445/6 to settle in Armorica. A variant reading enabled Levison to read his name as *Gochari* (Borius *Goari*) and in this way Goar has often become the main Alan king in Gaul during more than forty years.²¹ Following this identification, Levison also equated Goar with the anonymous Alan *rex* besieging Vasatae who deserted Athaulfus in 414²² and with an otherwise unmentioned leader of the Alans settled by Aetius in *Gallia Ulterior* in 442.²³ However, Heiric’s later version of the *Vita S. Germani* gives a clear form *Eochar* (without any variant reading), which pre-

¹⁹ Gregorius Turonensis, *Historia Francorum*. 2, 9 (ed. B. Krusch & W. Levison, MGH SRM I.1, 1951², 55-56).

²⁰ Olympiodorus fragment 18 (ed. R.C. Blockley, Liverpool 1983, 182-183).

²¹ Constantius Lugdunensis, *Vita Sancti Germani* 28 (ed. B. Krusch & W. Levison MGH SRM VII.1, 1919, 271-272, note 5 “agitur de Goare rege aliunde noto”; cf. ed. R. Borius *Sources Chrétiennes* 112, 1965, 174). However, Ch. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l’Afrique*, Paris 1955, 47 note 3 already opined: “il me paraît impossible de suivre, comme on le fait généralement, W. Levison ... et de mettre au compte de Goar tout ce que nous savons sur les Alains en Gaule pendant un demi-siècle”. Despite all, B.S. Bachrach, *A History of the Alans in the West*, Minneapolis 1973, 62-65 ignores Courtois and relies mostly on Levison’s conjectures.

²² Paulinus Pellaeus, *Eucharisticus* 328-405 (ed. C. Moussy *Sources Chrétiennes* 209, 1974, 80-85; 168, note to v. 378 “le roi de ces Barbares ... était fort vraisemblablement Goar”); but see *PLRE II* s.v. *Anonymus 118* “not to be identified with Goar”, since he was a Christian and Eochar (held to be the same as Goar) is labeled a pagan (*idolorum ministro*) by Constantius.

²³ *Chronica Gallica* (ed. Th. Mommsen MGH AA IX, 1892, 660).

cludes us from accepting the house of cards built by Levison. So therefore, a strict approach to the sources suggests that Goar is attested for sure only for the years 406-411. In this sense, Goar is not an unicum, but a sample case which illustrates many similar cases of inadequate historical treatment of individuals – and not just from the Eurasian steppes.

How? We must wait for the results of the Jerusalem project,²⁴ but at least in the long term it seems mandatory to divide such a gigantic work into smaller parts dealing with the different Chinggisid realms (Jochids, Ögödeids, Chaghadaids, Hülegeids, etc.). Even so the Mongol age is a hard nut to crack in prosopographical terms, due to several reasons: [1] it is a period characterized by a world empire and its successor states, [2] documented in a plethora of sources in various languages for some two-three centuries, [3] moving away from the steppe nomad background and involving processes of conquest, sedentarization and assimilation, and [4] with a history often difficult to separate from that of the nations subdued by them, say China, Iran or Russia.

In my opinion, however, a series of prosopographies of imperial nomads of the Pre-Mongol period (Huns, Avars, Türks, Uighurs, etc), conceived as reference works providing quick and easy access to primary sources and their discussion, would be a worthwhile and much more feasible enterprise (which, in any case, could be extended to the Chinggisid age with the aforesaid reservations, if it proved successful, or linked to previous projects).

Despite the limited number of individuals and the relative scarcity of sources for most of them, the required effort should not be underestimated: a close reading of available evidence would be imperative, especially in search of *anonymi* (recorded persons whose name is unknown) and relevant aliens, sedentary or not, “civilized” or “barbarian”, both within and outside the nomadic world, but always interacting with it. The heterogeneous origin of the sources (often West & Centre or Centre & East, but sometimes the three of them, as in the case of the Türk empire) claims for a long-standing, international research project, midway between philology and history, and with a significant presence of sinologists, given the accumulative nature of Chinese sources. I would like to emphasize the need for designing a unified plan and methodology for all these prosopographies, which would allow the comparison of similar processes in different historical and cultural contexts. And finally, even if printed versions might seem more attractive at first sight, a computer-accessible form allowing for quick searches would be an obvious desideratum.

The bulk of this paper is concerned with a sample research on the Hun period, taking as starting point the materials collected in the first two volumes of *PLRE*. Our intention is to give a list of possible entries following the aforesaid premises (of course, for now the reader is expected to draw on *PLRE* for additional information on every individual), to show the possibilities of the application of the prosopographical method to Medieval Eurasian nomads.

²⁴ See our note 15.

A PROSOPOGRAPHICAL APPROACH...

Most of the individuals are related to the Attilanic Huns, but, since this is just a preliminary study, those related to other “Huns” (Chionites, Kidarites, Ephthalites, Acatziri, Sabirs or even Bulgars: what is a Hun after the battle at the Nedao?) have been added to the inventory. However, instead of resorting to a unique, monolithic register in alphabetical order (in fact our first approach, as it was shown in Szeged), for reasons of space we have gone a step further, giving at once an elaborate form of the raw list after devising three main groups of entries (“Eurasian nomads”, “sedentary empires” and “other peoples”), which could be extrapolated to any other case of study, and some basic categories of individuals, allowing a first insight into their social status, career and interaction with sedentary (basically Roman) aliens.

1. EURASIAN NOMADS: HUNS	2. SEDENTARY EMPIRES: ROMANS & SASANIANS	3. OTHER PEOPLES: GERMANIC AND ALAN TRIBES
1.1. Kings, rulers & royal family	2.1. Emperors, kings & royal family	3.1. Kings, rulers & royal family
1.2. Chieftains & leaders	2.2. Palace high officials	3.2. Chieftains & leaders
1.3. Performing diplo- matic duties	2.3. Performing diplomat- ic duties	3.3. Performing diplo- matic duties
1.4. In Roman service	2.4. Military commanders	3.4. In Roman service
1.4.1. <i>MVM</i>	2.4.1. <i>MVM</i>	3.4.1. <i>MVM</i>
1.4.2. Other than <i>MVM</i>	2.4.2. Other than <i>MVM</i>	3.4.2. Other than <i>MVM</i>
1.5. Other individuals	2.5. Other individuals	3.5. Other individuals

The first two columns on the left of the table contain the name of the individual as given by *PLRE* and the reference to the volume and page(s) of *PLRE* dealing with the entry on him/her; the names of Eurasian nomads are given in bold characters (§§ 1.1-1.5).²⁵ The middle, wider column is a brief extract from the entry, in the case of Eurasian nomads introducing the individual, in the case of sedentary and other peoples specifying their relationship to Eurasian nomads (most usually to Attila and/or the Huns, again in bold characters), and always trying to justify their inclusion in a given category. This brief extract is closed by the mention of the oldest (often only) source on each person between brackets, e.g. [Prisc.]; or, if two or more sources are available, [Prisc.⁺], [Prisc.⁺³], etc.²⁶ And the column on the right shows the chronology of every individual –

²⁵ With the sole exception of *Orestes* 2 (§ 1.3), who performed diplomatic duties in the service of Attila but was himself a Roman of Pannonian origin (§ 2.5).

²⁶ List of abbreviations. Quoted sources: Amm(ianus) Marcellinus), Anon(ymus) Val(esianus), Cass(iodorus), Chron(ica) Gall(ica), Claud(ianus), Ennod(ius), Eugipp(ius), Evagr(ius), Greg(orius) Tur(onensis), Hier(onymus), Hyd(atius) Lem(icensis), Joh(annes) Ant(iochenus), Joh(annes) Mal(alas), Jord(anes), Just(iniani) Nov(ellae), Josh(ua) Styl(ites), Marcell(inus) comes), Nic(ephorus) Call(istus), Olymp(iodorus), Oros(ius), Prosp(er) Tiro), Prisc(us), Proc(opius), Sid(onius) Ap(ollinaris), Soc(rates), Suid(as), Theoph(anes), Vita Petr(i) Iber(i),

in the case of sedentary and other peoples limited to their interaction with Eurasian nomads – as attested in the extant sources (where an asterisk [*] stands for *circa* ‘approximately’).²⁷

No discussion of the general plan of the work or the structure of entries is included today, since these are matters which must be left for future and careful consideration, and they will be the subject of future contributions. This paper had only the purpose of capturing wills.

Zach(arias Rhetor), Zos(imus). Roman official titles: *c.f.* = *clarissima femina*, *cos.* = *consul*, *mag. off.* = *magister officiorum*, *MVM* = *magister utriusque militiae*, *PPO* = *praefectus praetorio*, *PSC* = *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, *QSP* = *quaestor sacri palatii*. Other: *bCP* = battle of the Catalaunian Plains.

²⁷ Zercon, Bleda’s jester, is included despite not having an entry in *PLRE* II (who could resist him!); three individuals from *PLRE* III (Ascum, Constantiolus, Dorotheus 2), because of their relation to Rufinus 13.

A PROSOPOGRAPHICAL APPROACH...

1. EURASIAN NOMADS: HUNS

1.1. Kings, rulers & royal family

Ambazuces	II 68	a Hun by birth, a friend of the Romans, who held the Caspian Gates under Anastasius [Proc.]	L V/E VI
Attila	II 182-3	king of the Huns, son of Mundiuch, brother of Bleda, attacked Gaul & Italy [Prisc. ⁺²⁰] (see § 1.4.1)	435/440-453
Balamber	I 145	king (<i>rex</i>) of the Huns, led attack on the Ostrogoths of Ermanaricus [Jord.]	*370
Berich	II 225	ruler (ἄρχων) over a number of villages, a Hun of noble birth, one of Attila's chief followers [Prisc.]	449
Bleda	II 230	king of the Huns, son of Mundiuch, joint ruler with his brother Attila, who murdered him [Prisc. ⁺⁷]	435/440-445
Charaton	II 283	overlord (ὁ τῶν ῥηγῶν πρῶτος) of the Huns, incensed by the murder of Donatus 2 [Olymp.]	412/413
Curidachus	II 330	senior ruler (τῶν βασιλέων ... πρεσβύτερον ὄντα τῇ ἀρχῇ) of the Acatziri, a Hun people [Prisc.]	448
Dengizich	II 354-5	king (<i>rex</i>) of the Huns, son of Attila, killed by the <i>MVM per Thracias</i> Anagastes [Prisc. ⁺³]	*460-469
Donatus 2	II 376	Hun or renegade Roman, murdered; Olympiodorus 1 went on an embassy to him: a king? [Olymp.]	412
Ellac	II 391	Hun, eldest son of Attila by Erecan, ruler (βασιλεὺς) of the Acatziri, killed at the Nedao river [Prisc. ⁺]	448-*455
Emnetzur	II 392	Hun ruler, a relative (<i>consanguineus</i>) of Ernach, seized Dacia Ripensis after Attila's death [Jord.]	453
Erecan	II 400	wife of Attila, by whom she had three sons [Prisc.]	449
Ernach	II 400-1	Hun, youngest son of Attila, settled in the north of Scythia & ruled a territory after Nedao [Prisc. ⁺]	448-466/467
Grumbates	I 404	king (<i>rex</i>) of the Chionite Huns, ally of Sapor II against the Romans [Amm.]	359
Ildico	II 586	last wife of Attila, who died during their wedding night [Prisc. ⁺]	453
Mundiuch	II 767	father of Attila and Bleda, possibly joint ruler with his brothers Rua & Octar [Prisc. ⁺²]	E V

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Mundo	II 767-8	a Hun from Attila's family, ruler (<i>rex</i>) north of the Danube, ally & subject to Theoderic 7 [Ennod.+2]	505
Octar	II 789-90	king (βασιλεύς) of the Huns, brother of Mundiuch and Rua, died of over-eating [Soc.+]	430
Oebarsius	II 793-4	paternal uncle of Attila, brother of Rua, Mundiuch and Octar, at Attila's court [Prisc.]	449
Onegesius	II 805	ruler of the Huns, he was second only to Attila (μετὰ τὸν Ἀττίλαν ... ἰσχυρὸν μέγα) [Prisc.+]	449
Rua	II 951	king (βασιλεύς) of the Huns, brother to Mundiuch and Octar, killed by lightning [Prisc.+5]	425-435/440
Tarrach	II 1052-3	ruler of the Huns (Οὐννων ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα κράτιστος), ally of Vitalianus 2 [Joh. Ant.]	513-515
Vldin	II 1180	king of the Huns (ὁ τὴν Οὐννων ἔχων ... ἡγεμονίαν) north of the Danube [Zos.+5] (<i>see</i> § 1.4.2)	400-408
Vltzindur	II 1182	Hun ruler, a relative (<i>consanguineus</i>) of Ernach, seized Dacia Ripensis after Attila's death [Jord.]	453
Zilgibis	II 1203-4	king (ῥῆξ) of the Huns, allied to both Romans & Persians under Justin I [Joh. Mal.+3]	518-*522

1.2. Chieftains & leaders

Basich	II 211	a 'Royal Hun' (ἄνδρα τῶν βασιλείων Σκυθῶν) who invaded Persia unsuccessfully [Prisc.]	395
Coursich	II 327	a 'Royal Hun' (ἄνδρα τῶν βασιλείων Σκυθῶν) who invaded Persia unsuccessfully [Prisc.]	395
Edeco	II 385-6	Hun noble, served under Attila (one of the λογάδες), later leader of the Sciri [Prisc.+6] (<i>see</i> § 1.3)	449-469
Hormidac	II 571	Hun chieftain (<i>dux</i>), leader of a band of Huns who raided Dacia [Sid. Ap.]	*460/467
Scottas	II 983	one of the Hun leaders (λογάδες) under Attila, brother of Onegesius [Prisc.] (<i>see</i> § 1.3)	443-449
Tuldila	II 1131	leader of a band of barbarians (possibly Huns) near the Danube, killed by Majorian [Sid. Ap.]	458

1.3. Performing diplomatic duties

Edeco	II 385-6	(<i>see</i> § 1.2) sent by Attila on an embassy to Constantinople, he returned with Maximinus 11 [Prisc.+6]	449-469
Eslas	II 402	Hun envoy to Constantinople, sent first by Rua and then twice by Attila [Prisc.]	435/440-449
Orestes 2	II 811-12	(<i>see</i> § 2.5) sent by Attila twice to Constantinople as envoy, once with Edeco , later with Eslas [Prisc.]	449 452

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Scottas	II 983	(see § 1.2) envoy of Attila to Constantinople, later he received the embassy of Maximinus 11 [Prisc.]	443-449
1.4. In Roman service			
1.4.1. <i>Magistri Vtriusque Militiae</i>			
Ascum	III 136	<i>MVM per Illyricum</i> , a Hun, sent against Bulgars who were raiding Thrace, captured by them [Joh. Mal. ⁺²]	528
Attila	II 182-3	(see § 1.1) <i>MVM</i> (honorary) in the West (στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων) [Prisc.]	449
Onoulphus	II 806	<i>MVM per Illyricum</i> , son of Edeco and brother of Odovacer, therefore of Hun descent [Eugipp. ⁺⁵]	*477-479
1.4.2. Other than <i>Magistri Vtriusque Militiae</i>			
Chelchal	II 283-4	a Hun, <i>?comes rei militaris</i> in Thrace under the <i>MVM</i> Aspar [Prisc.]	*466/467
Odovacer	II 791-93	son of the Hun Edeco, member of the imperial bodyguard, later <i>patricius</i> & king of Italy [Jord. ⁺²⁰]	463-493
Optila	II 810	a Scythian (Hun?) <i>protector</i> , avenged the death of Aetius 7 by killing Valentinianus 4 [Joh. Ant. ⁺⁵]	455
Sigizan	II 1010	Hun officer (East), commanded the Huns in Anastasius' army during the Isaurian war [Joh. Ant.]	492-497
Thela	II 1064	son of Odovacer, and therefore of Hun descent, <i>Caesar</i> (in Italy) [Anon. Val. ⁺]	*490/493
Thraustila 1	II 1118	a Scythian (Hun?) <i>protector</i> , avenged the death of Aetius 7 by killing Valentinianus 4 [Joh. Ant. ⁺⁴]	455
Vldin	II 1180	(see § 1.1) he and Sarus fought in Italy for the Romans and helped defeat Radagaisus at Faesulae [Oros. ⁺²]	406
Zolbon	II 1205	Hun officer (East), commanded the Huns in Anastasius' army during the Isaurian war [Joh. Ant.]	492-497
Anonymus 57	II 1229	<i>?dux</i> (in Illyricum), commanded cavalry against Hormidac's Huns, possibly a Hun himself [Sid. Ap.]	*460/467

1.5. Other individuals

<i>Adamis</i>	II 7	?Hun steward, he managed the affairs of Erecan, wife of Attila [Prisc.]	449
<i>Atakam</i>	II 175	Hun, related to Attila, fled to the Romans but was surrendered to him and promptly executed [Prisc.]	438/440
<i>Escam</i>	II 402	?Hun, otherwise unknown person whose daughter Attila married [Prisc.]	449
<i>Mama</i>	II 704	Hun, related to Attila, fled to the Romans but was surrendered to him and promptly executed [Prisc.]	438/440
<i>Turgun</i>	II 1133	a Hun, he betrayed Vitalianus' ally Tarrach to Anastasius [Joh. Ant.]	515

2. SEDENTARY EMPIRES & KINGDOMS: ROMANS & SASANIANS

2.1. Emperors, kings & royal family

<i>Anthemius 3</i>	II 96-98	<i>Augustus</i> (West 467-472), he won a victory against Hormidac's Huns [Sid. Ap.]	466/467
<i>Avitus 5</i>	II 196-98	<i>Augustus</i> (West 455-456), battled against Huns near Clermont, influential against Attila [Sid. Ap.]	437, 451
<i>Cavades I</i>	II 273-4	king of Persia (488-531), in exile among / helped to regain his throne by the Ephthalite Huns [Josh. Styl. ⁺³]	496-498
<i>Honorio</i>	II 568-9	<i>Augusta</i> (?437-*450), sent Hyacinthus 2 to Attila , who thus regarded her as betrothed to him [Prisc. ⁺⁴]	449-451
<i>Perozes</i>	II 860	king of Persia (459-484), at war with the Kidarite Huns 464/5, killed by the Ephthalite Huns [Prisc. ⁺⁷]	464/465, 484
<i>Theodosius 6</i>	II 1100	<i>Augustus</i> (East 402-450), informed of and agreeing to Chrysaphius' plot to kill Attila [Prisc.]	449
<i>Valentinianus 4</i>	II 1138-9	<i>Augustus</i> (West 425-455), killed by the Scythians (Huns ?) Optila & Thraustila [Joh. Ant. ⁺⁵]	455
<i>Zamasphes</i>	II 1195	king of Persia (496-498), dethroned by Cavades, who was helped by the Ephthalite Huns [Josh. Styl. ⁺⁵]	498

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2.2. Palace high officials

<i>Chrysaphius</i>	II 295-97	<i>spatharius</i> (East 443-450), an eunuch, formed a plot to murder the Hun king Attila [Prisc.+]	449
<i>Martialis</i>	II 729	<i>mag. off.</i> (East), arranged with Theodosius II details of Maximinus' 11 embassy to Attila [Prisc.]	449

2.3. Performing diplomatic duties

<i>Aetius</i> 7	II 21-29	(see § 2.4.1) <i>cura palatii</i> (West), sent by the usurper Ioannes on an embassy to the Huns [Greg. Tur.]	423/425
<i>Anatolius</i> 10	II 84-86	(see § 2.4.1) sent as envoy to the Huns , he negotiated three peace treaties with them [Prisc.+]	443 448 450
<i>Apollonius</i> 3	II 121	(see § 2.4.1) sent as an envoy to Attila but not received, as he had not brought the demanded tribute [Prisc.]	451
<i>Avienus</i> 4	II 193-4	<i>cos.</i> (West 450), he accompanied Pope Leo I and Trygetius 1 on their embassy to Attila [Prosp.]	452
<i>Carpilio</i> 2	II 262	son of Aetius 7, went to Attila on an embassy accompanied by Cassiodorus 2, hostage of the Huns [Prisc.+]	M V
<i>Cassiodorus</i> 2	II 264	<i>tribunus et notarius</i> (West), went on an embassy to Attila together with Carpilio 2 [Cass.]	M V
<i>Epigenes</i>	II 396	<i>QSP</i> (East), chosen by Plinta as his fellow-ambassador to Attila [Prisc.]	438/440
<i>Eusebius</i> 19	II 431	envoy of the emperor Zeno to the Persian king, present on an expedition against Ephthalite Huns [Proc.]	476/484
<i>Hyacinthus</i> 2	II 574	? <i>cubicularius</i> (West), an eunuch sent by Iusta Grata Honoria to ask Attila to help her [Joh. Ant.]	449
<i>Martyrius</i> 7	II 732	former envoy to the Huns with Polychronius 3, went on an embassy to Vitalianus 2 [Joh. Ant.]	513/514
<i>Maximinus</i> 11	II 743	? <i>comes rei militaris</i> (East 453), chosen by Theodosius II and his entourage as ambassador to Attila [Prisc.]	449-450

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<i>Nomus 1</i>	II 785-6	<i>mag. off.</i> (East 443-446), chosen as envoy to Attila , negotiated a settlement with him [Prisc.+]	450
<i>Olympiodorus 1</i>	II 798-9	historian, served on an official embassy to the Huns under Donatus 2 [Olymp.]	412
<i>Polychronius 3</i>	II 896	former envoy to the Huns with Martyrius 7, went on an embassy to Vitalianus 2 [Joh. Ant.]	513/14
<i>Priscus</i>	II 906	historian, ?assessor of Maximinus 11 on his embassy to the court of Attila [Prisc.]	449-450
<i>Probus 8</i>	II 912-3	(see § 2.4.1) ambassador to the Huns in order to hire troops to defend Iberia against the Persians [Proc.+]	*526
<i>Promotus 1</i>	II 926	governor (? <i>praeses</i>) of Noricum, sent from Italy by Aetius 7 as envoy to Attila [Prisc.]	449
<i>Romanus 2</i>	II 946-7	? <i>comes rei militaris</i> or <i>dux</i> (West), sent from Italy by Aetius 7 as envoy to Attila [Prisc.]	449
<i>Romulus 2</i>	II 949	<i>comes</i> (West), sent from Italy by Aetius 7 as envoy to Attila with Promotus 1 and Romanus 2 [Prisc.]	449
[<i>Rusticius 2</i>]	II 962	joined Maximinus & Priscus on their embassy to Attila , not an envoy but knew the Hun language [Prisc.]	449-450
<i>Senator 4</i>	II 990-1	<i>cos.</i> (East 436), <i>patricius</i> , sent by Theodosius II on an embassy to Attila [Prisc.]	*442/443
<i>Sengilachus</i>	II 991	sent by Plinta to persuade the Hun Rua to accept only him as Roman envoy (Prisc.)	435/440
<i>Tatulus</i>	II 1055	father of Orestes 2, he accompanied a western embassy under Romulus 2 to Attila [Prisc.]	449
<i>Theodulus 2</i>	II 1105-6	(see § 2.4.1) helped to negotiate with Attila an agreement regarding the people of Assems [Prisc.]	443
<i>Trygetius 1</i>	II 1129	<i>vir praefectorius</i> , he accompanied Avitus 4 & Pope Leo on the Roman embassy to Attila [Prosp.]	452
<i>Vigilas</i>	II 1165-6	<i>interpretes</i> (East), an official interpreter used in several negotiations with the Huns [Prisc.]	*448-450

2.4. Military commanders

2.4.1. *Magistri Vtriusque Militiae*

<i>Aetius 7</i>	II 21-29	<i>MVM</i> (West), hostage with / leading armies of / in command against the Huns / defeated Attila in the bCP [Philost. ⁺¹⁸] (see § 2.3)	*410-452
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A PROSOPOGRAPHICAL APPROACH...				
<i>Agintheus</i>	II 34	<i>MVM per Illyricum</i> , he delivered fugitives at Naissus to be sent back to Attila [Prisc.]	449	
<i>Anatolius 10</i>	II 84-86	<i>MVM per Orientem</i> (433-446), <i>MVM</i> (450-451), often sent to Attila as Roman envoy [Prisc.+] (see § 2.3)	443-450	
<i>Apollonius 3</i>	II 121	<i>MVM praesentalis</i> (East 443-451), sent as an envoy to Attila [Prisc.] (see § 2.3)	451	
<i>Aristus 2</i>	II 147	<i>MVM per Illyricum</i> , led a Roman army against the Bulgars in Thrace, defeated by them [Marcell.+]	499	
<i>Cyrillus 3</i>	II 335	<i>MVM per Thracias</i> , murdered by Tarrach , the ruler of Vitalianus' 2 Hun allies [Joh. Ant.]	513	
<i>Constantiolus</i>	III 352-3	? <i>MVM et dux Moesia (Secundae)</i> , sent against Bulgars who were raiding Thrace [Joh. Mal.+]	528	
<i>Dionysius 13</i>	II 365-6	<i>MVM ?vacans</i> (434-435/440), he and Plinta asked to be sent as envoys to the Hun king Rua [Prisc.+]	435/440	
<i>Dorotheus 2</i>	III 420-1	<i>MVM per Armeniam</i> , sent by Rufinus to take action against a raiding party of Sabirian Huns [Joh. Mal.]	531	
<i>Godilas</i>	II 516	? <i>MVM vacans</i> (in Thrace), sent against Bulgars who were raiding Thrace [Joh. Mal.+]	528	
<i>Hypatius 6</i>	II 577-81	<i>MVM Praesentalis</i> , sent against the Persians, met and destroyed some Ephthalites [Proc.+ ²]	503	
<i>Iulianus 15</i>	II 639	<i>MVM per Thracias</i> , killed in battle in Thrace, probably by Bulgars [Marcell.]	493	
<i>Litorius</i>	II 684-5	? <i>MVM per Gallias</i> (439), earlier <i>comes (rei militaris)</i> , leader of Hun auxiliary cavalry [Prosp.+ ⁵]	435-39	
<i>Marcellinus 6</i>	II 708-10	? <i>MVM</i> (West), sent to guard Sicily against the Vandals with mostly Hun troops [Prisc.]	461	
<i>Patricius 14</i>	II 840-42	<i>MVM praesentalis</i> , successfully engaged some Ephthalites in the war against Persia [Proc.+ ²]	503	
<i>Petrus 27</i>	II 870-1	<i>MVM vacans</i> (East), sent as στρατηγός with some Huns to Lazica to help the Iberians [Proc.]	526/527	
<i>Pharasmanes 2</i>	II 872	<i>MVM</i> (East), became king of Iberia, relying on the White Huns for support [V. Petr. Iber.]	L IV/E V	
<i>Probus 8</i>	II 912-3	<i>MVM</i> , sent by Justin on an embassy to the Huns in order to hire troops among them [Proc.+] (see § 2.3)	*526	

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<i>Rufinus</i> 13	II 954-57	?MVM (530), ordered Dorotheus 2 to take action against a raiding party of Sabirian Huns [Joh. Mal.]	531
<i>Sabinianus</i> 5	II 967-8	MVM <i>per Illyricum</i> , leading Bulgar foederati , defeated at Horreum Magi by the Hun Mundo (Marcell. ⁺²)	505
<i>Theodulus</i> 2	II 1105-6	MVM <i>per Thracias</i> , assisted Anatolius 10 to negotiate an agreement with Attila [Prisc.] (see § 2.3)	443
<i>Vitalianus</i> 2	II 1171-76	MVM <i>per Thracias</i> (514/5), previously <i>comes</i> (? <i>foederatorum</i>) of troops including many Huns [Evagr.]	513
<i>Zenon</i> 6	II 1199-00	MVM <i>per Orientem</i> (447-451), entrusted with the defence of Constantinople against Attila [Prisc.]	447
2.4.2. Other than <i>Magistri Vtriusque Militiae</i>			
<i>Aetius</i> 8	II 29	<i>comes domesticorum</i> (East), led a military expedition against Huns north of the Danube [Hyd. Lem.]	452
<i>Apraemius</i>	II 123	<i>PPO Illyrici Attilanis temporibus ... in Thessalonicam profugus venerat</i> [Just. Nov.]	441
<i>Constantinus</i> 14	II 313-4	? <i>comes rei militaris</i> , entered Persian service commanding a mixed force of Huns & others [Josh. Styl.]	503
<i>Cyprianus</i> 2	II 332-3	presumably fought at Horreum Margi against Sabinianus 5 & his Bulgar foederati [Cass.]	505
<i>Eutropius</i> 1	II 441-44	<i>PSC</i> (East) *395-399, he himself led a military expedition against the Huns attacking Asia Minor [Claud.]	*397/398
<i>Ferreolus</i>	II 465-6	<i>PPO Galliarum</i> 451-452/453, when Attila attacked Gaul he took measures against Huns [Sid. Ap.]	451
<i>Innocentius</i> 4	II 591	<i>comes (rei militaris)</i> (East), one of four <i>comites</i> killed in battle by the Bulgars in Thrace [Marcell.]	499
<i>Nicostratus</i> 2	II 784	<i>comes (rei militaris)</i> (East), one of four <i>comites</i> killed in battle by the Bulgars in Thrace [Marcell.]	499
<i>Olympius</i> 2	II 801-2	<i>mag. off.</i> (West 408-409), took a squad of 300 Huns against Athaulfus' Goths [Zos.]	409
<i>Rufus</i> 1	II 958-9	<i>comes (rei militaris?)</i> (East), married Anonyma 21 instead of Attila's secretary Constantius 7 [Prisc.]	449

A PROSOPOGRAPHICAL APPROACH...				
<i>Saturninus</i> 3	II 979-80	<i>comes domesticorum</i> (East 444), his daughter was sought in marriage by one of Attila's <i>notarii</i> [Prisc.+]	449	
<i>Tancus</i>	II 1052	<i>comes (rei militaris)</i> (East), one of four <i>comites</i> killed in battle by the Bulgars in Thrace [Marcell.]	499	
<i>Valerius</i> 4	II 1144	governor (<i>consularis</i>) of Thrace during invasions of Goths, Huns & Sarmatians [Olymp.]	E V	
2.5. Other individuals				
<i>Constantius</i> 6	II 319	native of Gaul, secretary (<i>notarius</i>) of Attila , who had him crucified because of treachery [Prisc.]	441	
<i>Constantius</i> 7	II 319	native of Italy, sent to Attila by Aetius 7 as <i>notarius</i> , was promised a rich Roman lady for wife [Prisc.]	449-450	
<i>Eudoxius</i> 2	II 412	a doctor, involved in a rising of the Bacaudae, escaped by fleeing to the Huns [Chron. Gall.]	448	
<i>Fabiola</i>	I 323	<i>c.f.</i> left Palestine hurriedly from fear of the Huns who were ravaging the East [Jer.]	394	
<i>Orestes</i> 2	II 811-2	native of Pannonia, <i>notarius</i> of Attila , sent as envoy, captured and killed by Odovacer [Prisc.] (<i>see</i> § 1.3)	449 476	452
<i>Paulus</i> 23	II 852	native of Pannonia, brother of Orestes 2, killed by Odovacer [Anon. Val.+3]	476	
<i>Rusticius</i> 2	II 961-2	native of Upper Moesia, taken prisoner by the Huns , <i>notarius</i> of Attila because of his eloquence [Prisc.]	449	
<i>Anonyma</i> 21	II 1240	<i>c.f.</i> daughter of Saturninus 3, sought in marriage by Constantius 7, secretary of Attila [Prisc.+]	449	
<i>Zercon</i>	—	a Moorish dwarf, jester of Aspar, captured in Thrace, favourite of Bleda , gift of Attila to Aetius 7 [Prisc.+]	*440-449	
3. OTHER PEOPLES: GERMANIC AND ALAN TRIBES				
3.1. Kings, rulers & royal family				
<i>Ardaricus</i>	II 138	Gepid king, loyal to Attila , present at the bCP, later led the revolt & defeated the Huns at the Nedao [Jord.]	451-455	

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<i>Athanasius</i>	I 120-21	Visigothic (Tervingian) chief, defeated by the Huns , surrendered to Theodosius I [Amm.]	*381
<i>Athaulfus</i>	II 176-78	leading a force of Huns and Goths, defeated by the Huns under Olympius 2, later Visigothic king [Zos.]	408-409
<i>Ermanaricus</i>	I 283	Ostrogothic king, ruler of extensive territories, defeated by the Huns , committed suicide [Amm.]	*375
<i>Gundicharius</i>	II 523	Burgundian king in Gaul, killed by the Huns , maybe led by Aetius [Hyd. Lem. ⁺³]	437
<i>Radagaisus</i>	II 934	Gothic king, invader of Italy, defeated by the Hun Vldin and the Goth Sarus at Faesulae [Oros. ⁺²]	406
<i>Sangibanus</i>	II 976	Alan king, settled around Orléans, ally of Romans & Visigoths against Attila in the bCP [Jord.]	451
<i>Theodemer 2</i>	II 1069	commanded Ostrogothic troops in the army of Attila in the bCP, later Ostrogothic king [Jord.]	451
<i>Theodericus 2</i>	II 1070-1	Visigothic king (418-451), joined forces with Rome against Attila , lost his life in the bCP [Hyd. Lem. ⁺⁷]	451
<i>Theodericus 3</i>	II 1071-73	fought with his father Theodericus 2 against Attila in the bCP, later Visigothic king (453-466) [Jord.]	451
<i>Thorismodus</i>	II 1115-6	fought with his father Theodericus 2 against Attila in the bCP, later Visigothic king (451-453) [Jord. ⁺²]	451
<i>Valamer</i>	II 1135-6	Ostrogothic king, ravaged the Danube region with Attila , his ally in the bCP, later fought the Huns [Jord.]	447-454
<i>Videmer</i>	II 1164	Ostrogothic ruler, commanded Ostrogothic troops in the army of Attila in the bCP [Jord.]	451
<i>Vinitharius</i>	I 968	Ostrogothic chieftain under Hunnic overlordship, later fought the Huns but was killed by them [Jord.]	L IV/E V
<i>Vithimiris</i>	I 971	king of the Ostrogoths, with Hun mercenaries resisted the Alans but was killed in battle [Amm.]	*375

A PROSOPOGRAPHICAL APPROACH...

3.2. Chieftains & leaders

<i>Andag</i>	II 86	an Ostrogoth, he served under Attila in the bCP, maybe killed the Visigothic king Theoderic [Jord.]	451
<i>Beremud</i>	II 224-5	an Amal, he left the Ostrogoths when they were subject to the Huns and lived among the Visigoths [Jord.]	E/M V
<i>Filimer</i>	I 337	Gothic chief in a legend on the origin of the Huns [Jord.]	?E IV
<i>Gesimund</i>	II 510	leader of part of the Ostrogoths under Hun overlordship, helped Balamber to attack Vinitharius [Jord.]	?E V
<i>Laudaricus</i>	II 657	relative (<i>cognatus</i>) of Attila , bearing a Germanic name, killed in the bCP [<i>Chron. Gall.</i>]	451

3.3. Performing diplomatic duties

<i>Aspar</i>	II 164-69	(see § 3.4.1) negotiated with Attila a year's truce following a triumphant campaign by the Huns [Marcell.]	441
<i>Plinta</i>	II 892-3	(see § 3.4.1) sent with Epigenes as envoy to Attila following Rua 's death [Prisc.]	438/440

3.4. In Roman service

3.4.1. *Magistri Vtriusque Militiae*

<i>Anagastes</i>	II 75-6	<i>MVM per Thracias</i> (469-470), probably a Goth, fought against the Huns , killed Dengizich [Prisc. ⁺²]	466/467-469
<i>Ardabur 1</i>	II 135-37	? <i>MVM vacans</i> , an Alan, Aspar's son, he defeated some barbarians (? Huns) in Thrace [Suid.]	450/453
<i>Ariobindus 2</i>	II 145-6	<i>MVM ?praesentalis</i> (East 434-449), a Goth, one of the Roman generals defeated by Attila [Nic. Call. ⁺]	443
<i>Arnegisclus</i>	II 151	<i>MVM per Thraciam</i> , probably a Goth, defeated and killed by Attila near the river Utus [Marcell. ⁺²]	447
<i>Aspar</i>	II 164-69	<i>MVM</i> (East 431-471), an Alan, one of the Roman generals defeated by Attila [Theoph.]	443
<i>Gainas</i>	I 379-80	<i>MVM ?praesentalis</i> (399-400), a Goth, attacked, defeated and killed by the Huns under Vldin [Zos. ⁺⁹]	400

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<i>Plinta</i>	II 892-3	<i>MVM praesentalis</i> (419-438), a Goth, he and Dionysius 13 asked to be sent as envoys to Rua [Prisc.+]	435/440
<i>Ricimer</i>	II 942-45	<i>MVM</i> (West 456-472) ²⁸ , sought by bribery to win over Marcellinus' 6 Hun soldiers in Sicily [Prisc.]	461
<i>Theodericus</i> 5	II 1073-76	<i>MVM</i> (473-4, 475/476, 478-9), a Goth, marched on Constantinople together with some Huns [Marcell.+ ⁴]	481

3.4.2. Other than *Magistri Vtriusque Militiae*

<i>Bessas</i>	II 226	<i>dux Mesopotamiae</i> , a Goth, attacked an army of Huns allied to Persia invading Roman territory [Zach.]	531
<i>Blivila</i>	II 231	<i>dux Lybiae Pentapoleos</i> , a Goth from a mixed settlement of Sarmatians, Huns & Cemandrians [Jord.]	L V/E VI
<i>Ostrys</i>	II 814-15	?comes <i>rei militaris</i> , a Goth commanding Roman armies in Thrace against Goths and Huns [Prisc.]	466/467
<i>Pitzias</i>	II 886-7	?comes in Italy, a Goth, marched into Dacia to help Mundo , defeated Sabinianus' 5 Bulgars [Ennod.+]	505
<i>Sarus</i>	II 978-9	Gothic chieftain, probably <i>foederatus</i> , he and the Hun Vldin won a victory over Radagaisus [Oros.+ ²]	406
<i>Tuluin</i>	II 1131-33	a Goth, served in an expedition against the Bulgars of Sabinianus 5 [Cass.]	505

3.5. Other individuals

<i>Froila</i>	II 486	brother of Blivila, a Goth from a mixed settlement of Sarmatians, Huns & Cemandrians [Jord.]	L V/E VI
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²⁸ Of mixed Sueve and Visigoth ancestry.

Nomads in the Prose of Medieval Turkish Folklore (“Battal-name” and “Danishmend- name”)

TATIANA A. ANIKEEVA¹



The traditional Turkish epic Battal-name and Danishmend-name are considered to have been constructed in the period of the beginning of the formation of Turkish literature (the 14th century), when the Ottoman state emerged and united the separated Anatolian beyliks through aggressive campaigns against the Byzantine lands.

Beside the Korkut tales among the Oguz tribes, the so-called “military epic stories” began to take shape in Turkish folklore. These stories depict the campaigns and battles and are imbued with ideas of gazawat as a holy war for the faith. Despite the fact that the historical background of the “Battal-name” was the Arab-Byzantine wars, it is based on the tradition of the Turkic heroic epic. Both Melik Danishmend (the main hero of “Danishmend-name”, a local governor in Asia Minor) and Battal (and their associates) represent the image of the epic hero, empowered with the traditional nomadic Turkic virtues that have been contaminated with the features of a Muslim devotee. “Battal-name” and “Danishmend-name” retained their popularity in Ottoman Turkey until the 19th century.

Many of the themes and motifs of traditional Turkish epic folklore date back to antiquity. Along with the existing Korkut cycles among the Oguz tribes, the so-called “military epic stories” began to take shape in Turkish folklore.

In the 11th century, Turkic-speaking tribes invaded Anatolia under the rule of the Eastern Roman Empire, known as the Byzantine Empire.

After the battle of Manzikert (Malazgirt) in 1071, Turkoman leaders (*beys*), such as the Artuk, Saltuk, Danishmend and Mengücek *beys*, conquered lands in Anatolia and set up a number of small states there: The Saltuks in Erzurum, the Mengüceks in the region of Erzincan and Sivas, the Danishmends in the region of Tokat, Niksar and Malatya, and the Artukid state around Mardin and Har-

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put. The Danishmend conquests in Anatolia were a theme of great admiration among the contemporary Turks and the conquests became the subject of a large anonymous epic called the *Danishmend-name*.

The *Battal-name* and *Danishmend-name* are both dated to the period of the beginning of the formation of Turkish literature, which started in the 14th century. This period is usually associated with the emergence of the Ottoman state and the unification of separated Anatolian *beyliks*; this was accompanied by expansion and the aggressive campaigns of the Turks against the Byzantine lands.

The *Battal-name* and *Danishmend-name* are of the same genre and have a similar plot: one of the main heroes of *Danishmend-name*, besides Melik Danishmend himself, is the grandson of Seyyid Battal: Sultan Dursan. These stories depict the campaigns and battles and are imbued with ideas of *gazavat* as the holy war for the faith.

Gazavat-name, about Seyyid-Battal, has its own historical basis; most probably, it can be seen as a historical memoir about a Muslim (probably an Arab) who participated in the Umayyad campaign against Asia Minor² or being about related events that led to centuries of the Arab-Byzantine wars. The main events of the narrated legend date back to the 9th–10th centuries, but the latest period is the 12th century. In the center of the story of *Battal-name* are the legendary deeds of Battal, who was the son of a noble warlord. The son was sent to perform feats in the “land of the Greeks” from Malatya (or Mytilene).

According to the opinion of Gordlevskiy referring to H. Gregoire³, the Byzantine epics about Digenis Akrites had a great influence on the image of Seyyid Battal-gazi.⁴ However, the similarities between the Turkish epics (like *Battal-name* and *Kitab-i Dedem Korkut*) and the Byzantine epics have not yet been studied in detail.

The images of the heroes in both texts — Melik Danishmend and Seyyid Battal Gazi respectively — are characterised by the same typical features, which are peculiar to the protagonists of the traditional Turkic oral epic. These signs appear in the heroes’ early childhood: he knocks his opponent to the

² V.A. Gordlevsky, “Gosudarstvo Seldjukidov Maloy Azii”, *Izbrannye sochineniya*. Vol. 1. Moskva 1960, 75.

³ Gordlevsky, *Gosudarstvo Seldjukidov*, 75.

⁴ The legend of Digenes Akrites was extremely widespread in the territory of Asia Minor and the Caucasus. The poem “Digenis Akrites” is a monument of the Byzantine heroic epics, extant in several variants; it is based on the processing of folkloric material. The original version apparently goes back to the end of the 10th–beginning of 11th centuries. The number of layers in the surviving versions indicates a different period from the second half of the 11th to the 14th centuries. Digenis (in Greek, “twain-born”) by his origin is associated with the East; he is the son of a Greek woman and a Syrian Emir. The Armenian legend of Kaghan Arslan and his bride Margrit is also regarded as a version of the song of Digenis and his fight with Charon. See: V. M. Jirmunski, *Tyurkskiy geroicheskiy epos*. Leningrad 1974, 199.

ground with one kick, he strikes the enemy's head with a club of five thousand *batman* weight with a flick of the wrist (Seyyid Battal Gazi).

Melik Danishmend and his associates are permanently compared to a lion, tiger, or dragon; his war horse is always juxtaposed with an eagle:

ملك دانشمند دخی کافرلر اراسنده ارسلان کبی اگردی قیلان کبی صچرردی

Melik Danişmend kafirler arasında arslan gibi egerdi kaplan gibi saçırırdı

"Among the infidels Melik Danishmend growled like a lion, rushed like a tiger" (149b, also 74a, 85b, 120a)⁵

ات عقاب کبی صچرردی

At ukap gibi saçırırdı

"the horse soared like an eagle" (183a, also 64b)⁶

The enemies of Melik Danishmend and Seyyid Battal-gazi (mostly "infidels") are compared to dogs, donkeys, and sheep. The number "40" which is also characteristic in the folklore of the Turkic peoples, is often mentioned in *Danishmend-name*: "Melik... struck such a blow by his sword that the head flew 40 steps away", "40 infidels came out one after the other, and Melik Danishmend killed them all" (262a, 161a).⁷

The companions of the main characters are also endowed with heroic features.

The style of the narration in *Battal-name* and *Danishmend-name*, the simplicity of its syntax, the conciseness of the presentation, and its brevity are all features that demonstrate the definite archaic nature of these texts.

سنیلره یغمور کبی اوق دوکدیلر

Sunilere yağmur gibi ok dökdiler

"They shot arrows to the Sunnis like rain" (122b)

اول یازي طولو ادم کودمسی اولمش سیل کبی قان روان اولمش

Ol yazı dolu adam gövdesi olmuş sel gibi kan revan olmuş

"The plain was full of people's bodies, the blood flowed like a stream" (209a)⁸

The connection of the water and the blood, which is expressed in various figures of speech (metaphor, hyperbole), apparently is fairly stable in Turkic literatures, and could date back to ancient Turkic monuments (see Köl-Tegin monument E 24: *qanyŋ subča yögürti* "your blood run like water";⁹ Kitab-i

⁵ Folios of the manuscript of *Danishmend-name* (from Sankt-Petersburg State Public library, copied at 1622/23), which were used in the publications and research conducted by V. S. Garbuzova. See: V. S. Garbuzova, *Skazaniye o Melike Danishmende*. Moskva 1960, 163.

⁶ Garbuzova, *Skazaniye o Melike Danishmende*, 164.

⁷ Garbuzova, *Skazaniye o Melike Danishmende*, 168.

⁸ Ibid., 165.

⁹ See: S. Ye. Malov, *Pamyatniki drevnetyurkskoy pismennosti*. Moskva – Leningrad 1951; H. M. Orkun, *Eski Türk yazıtları*. Ankara 1987; T. Tekin, *The Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*. Bloomington 1968, 234, 267.

Dedem Korkut: *Kanlı kanlı suların geçit versün* (D75)¹⁰ “let him cross the blood-red river”; “Oguz-name”: Тутулунч урушунч андаҗ јаман болди ким Итил мјрпәнијн суғи кин кизил сін сизир дәг болди (Oguz-name 19, III-IV)¹¹ “Fights and battles were so fierce that the water of the Itil river turned red as cinnabar.”

The *Battal-name* and *Danishmend-name* kept their popularity in the Ottoman Empire up until the end of the 19th–beginning of the 20th centuries. In addition to the copies from 1577, 1622, and 1607, some manuscripts of the *Danishmend-name* are dated to the 19th–20th centuries (e.g. MS No. 685 from İstanbul Millet Kütüphanesi copied in 1910¹²). This indicates the popularity of the story.

Both the *Battal-name* itself and the different legends of Seyyid Battal-gazi and his companions existed in Turkish folklore and literature even up until the beginning of the 20th century. The *Battal-name*, or “*Gazavat-name* of Battal”, was often published as a lithography of a typical Turkish prosaic narrative folk tale.¹³ It continued to exist in another later genre of Turkish folklore.¹⁴ The folk texts of the *hikayats* began to be printed in the form of lithographies, and later as typographies in the first half of 19th century, mainly in İstanbul. The technique of lithography (*taşbasması*), which was significantly cheaper than the printing typography press, achieved wide distribution.

¹⁰ *Dede Korkut kitabı. I. Giriş, metin, tıpkıbasım*. Haz. Muharrem Ergin. 9.baskı. Ankara 2014.

¹¹ A. M. Scherbak, tr. and comm. *Oghuz-name. Mukhabbat-name. Pamyatniki drevneuygurskoy i starouzbekskoy pismennosti*. Moskva 1959, 40. The transcription of the Turkic text is given in accordance with this edition.

¹² See more: Garbuzova, *Skazaniye o Melike Danishmende*, 30–31.

¹³ The Turkish prose narrative folk tale (*halk hikâyesi*, or *hikayat*) takes a special place in Turkish folklore and Turkish literature in general. Frequently, these narrative texts represent folkloric versions of well-known plots from the different literary traditions of the Middle East. The traditional area of the origin and distribution of the Turkish folk narrative *hikayat* is considered to be northeast Turkey and the areas bordering Iran. It has been in existence for a long time mainly in the south of Turkey and in eastern Turkey since the Middle Ages. Throughout their existence, the Turkish folk narratives have taken an intermediate position not only between the literary tradition and folklore, but also between different folk genres, combining the features of fairy tales, folk theatre, and folk poetry. Folk narratives with the contents primarily related to the various traditional narrative genres of Arabic, Persian, and Turkic literatures were already prevailing in general in the second half of the 19th century among printed and lithograph editions, which had a certain popularity among the citizens of the Ottoman Empire. For more detail, see: T. A. Anikeeva, *Turetskaya gorodskaya povest XIX veka*. Moskva 2011.

¹⁴ Sometimes these historical legends, *gazavatname* and *menakıname*, are reasonably considered as one of the sources of the formation of this late genre of the Turkish folklore *halk hikâyesi*. See for example, Ö. Nutku, *Meddahlık ve meddah hikâyeleri*. Ankara 1997, 77.

There is a lithographic edition of *Battal-name* from 1881 in MGIMO Scientific library: *Gazavat-name sultan Seyyid Battal-gazi mükemmel hikayesi*.¹⁵ This edition is remarkable because of the autograph Arabic inscription on its flyleaf:

صاحب هذا الكتاب و مينورسكى واخترته في القسطنطينية في ١٣١٧

Sahib haza-l-kitab w.minurski wa-khtarathu fi-l-Kostantiniyya fi 1317

"The owner of this book is V. Minorski and I bought it in Constantinople in 1317 [A. H.] (1899/1900)". This edition most probably originates from the private book collection of the famous Iranist Vladimir Fyodorovich Minorsky (1877-1966). He probably bought it in İstanbul during one of his first voyages to Turkey, almost before graduating from university (*Lazarevsky Institute for Oriental Languages*) in 1902.

In his paper, V.A. Gordlevsky edited several texts of legends in connection with Seyyid Battal and his companions from various places in Turkey. These legends were recorded by him in 1910-1911:

№ 46. "Yediler ("the Seven"). "In the old burial vault of Eskişehir, seven ascetics of Seyyid Battal Gazi were buried. One of them, Yusuf, was known as *Kesikbaş* ("Severed head") [...] Before the war, the saints left the grave and raised a lot of noise. Such was the case before the last Russian-Turkish war (1910). [...]" № 47. "There is a dry well in a deep cave carved into the cliffs, high above the village of İnönü (around Eskişehir) [...] This is the tomb of St. Kesikbaş. [...] In front of the cave, on a high cliff, there lived a princess named Marty. She worked in the Palace yarn. Seyyid Battal Gazi fell in love with her and kidnapped her"¹⁶

Therefore, we see that the image of Seyyid Battal and his companions as epic heroes retains its features and characteristics regardless of the genre (*hi-kayat*, historical legends, and the legends about the saints) for quite a long time. Both Melik Danishmend and Battal represent the image of the epic hero empowered with traditional nomadic Turkic virtues that have been contaminated with the features of a Muslim devotee.

Thus, the *Battal-name* and *Danishmend-name* are both monuments of a written epic, which is found on the border between oral and literary traditions, and even between folk narrative and historical writing.

Elements of the traditional epic narrative represented in *Danishmend-name* and *Battal-name* can be seen later in chronicles that use folk canons for the construction of a historical narrative of the Seljukid epoch.

¹⁵ Scientific Library of Moscow State Institute for international relations (MGIMO), MS no 351: lithographic edition, bright blue cardboard cover with embossed and gold rosette, thin yellow paper, İstanbul 1298 h./1881, 358 pages. The language of the text is Turkish. The first page has a stamp of the library of the *Institute of Oriental Studies* of Moscow and another oriental stamp with the date "1305" (1887). There are inscriptions on the flyleaf made with black ink and pencil.

¹⁶ V.A. Gordlevsky, "Osmanskiye skazaniya I legendy. Chast t 1," *Izbrannyye sochineniya. T. 1*. Moskva 1960, 338. This is about the legendary companions of Seyyid Battal, namely, Husseyn Gazi and his brother Şerafettin, as well as Ahmed Tarrak and Abdul Wahhab Gazi, see the records № 167-168 (448-449).

On the Emergence of the Qinghai Sections of the Silk Road

MÁTYÁS BALOGH



Between the Han 漢 and Tang 唐 dynasties, the Hexi corridor (Hexi zoulang 河西走廊, Gansu corridor) in northern Gansu 甘肅 was controlled by a number of short-lived states and was often a scene of military operations. During these centuries, trade routes emerged across the territory of the Tuyuhun 吐谷渾 Kingdom, in present-day Qinghai 青海 Province, and grew more and more important towards the end of the period. It is a popular assumption that the ascent of these routes is a result of instability in the Hexi corridor and its occupation by the non-Chinese dynasties of North China. Research into the political events of the era indicates that the importance of these southern routes cannot confidently be explained by instability and foreign powers in the Hexi corridor. Instead, the degree of political organisation brought to the region by the Tuyuhun and their unique items of pastoral production might at least in part account for the popularity of the trade routes that ran through their kingdom.

Between the Western Jin (Xi Jin 西晉 265–317) and Sui 隋 (581–617) dynasties, i.e. the period of the so called ‘Sixteen Kingdoms of the Five Barbarians’ (304–439) and the ‘Northern and Southern Dynasties’ (439–581), the Hexi-corridor (Hexi zoulang 河西走廊) in northern Gansu 甘肅 was controlled by a number of short-lived states and was often a scene of military operations. The ethnically Han-Chinese dynasties in this period were confined to the southern half of China, having no access to the corridor. During these centuries, trade routes emerged across the territory of the Tuyuhun 吐谷渾 Kingdom (329–663), in present-day Qinghai 青海 Province, and grew more and more important towards the end of the period. It is a popular assumption that the Tuyuhun, a neutral power between the rivalling North and South, provided alternatives to the Hexi-corridor then occupied by warring dynasties of mostly barbarian origin. The study of the political events of the era indicates that the importance of the alternative routes in modern Qinghai cannot confidently be explained by instability and the influence of foreign powers in the Hexi-corridor. Instead, the degree of political organisation brought to the region by the Tuyuhun and their unique items of pastoral production might at least in part account for the popularity of the trade routes crossing their kingdom.

1. *The Hexi and Qinghai Sections of the Silk Road*

The Hexi-corridor is a narrow passage that connects modern central Gansu 甘肃 with Xinjiang 新疆. Its northern border is the Mongolian Plateau and the ranges of the Qilian 祁連 mountains come from the south. The major cities and stations of the **Hexi section**, a part of the Silk Road running from east to west, were: Guzang 古藏 (modern Wuwei 武威), Zhangye 張掖, Jiuquan 酒泉, Yumen 玉門, and Dunhuang 敦煌 (also Shazhou 沙洲).

South from the Qilian Mountains lies the Kuku-nor region (roughly today's Qinghai province), a large part of which was occupied by the Tuyuhun from 317 to 663. In the northeastern corner of the modern Qinghai province is the valley of the Huangshui 湟水 river. This is one of the very few parts of Qinghai where relatively large-scale agriculture is possible and, therefore, this is the part of the province where the Han Chinese settlements and administration first appeared.¹ The route running along the valley connecting the modern cities and townships of Minhe 民和, Ledu 乐都 and Xining 西寧 is the **Huangshui section**. The Huangshui and the Hexi sections are connected by the **Qilian path** across the Qilian Mountains. After leaving the Huangshui valley behind, south from the Qinghai lake a new section, the **Caidam section**, begins. This, passing the Caidam basin (Chaidamu pendi 柴達木盆地), ends up at the eastern rim of the Tarim Basin in modern Xinjiang, which is called the Western Regions (Xiyu 西域). In roughly the same area, where the Huangshui section ends and the Caidam section begins, another section joins the system from the southeast. This is the **Henan section** that connects the Sichuan Basin in southwest China with the vicinity of the Qinghai lake.²

¹ In the first century B. C., Zhao Chongguo 趙充國 the Han general, who in 61 B. C. occupied the area, mentioned that the Qiang 羌 people had practiced agriculture in the area between Linqiang 臨羌 (Huangyuan 湟源) and Haomen 浩亶 (Xiangtang 享堂) in the Huangshui valley. Zhao's occupation was followed by establishing agricultural garrisons (*tuntian* 屯田) in this area. See Jie Shusen & Chen Bing 解书森 & 陈冰 "Qinghai de kaituo yu guonei yimin," 青海的开拓与国内移民 [The opening up of Qinghai and the inland migration] *Jingji Yanjiu* 经济研究. 3 (1984), 54-58.

² I named this section after the area it ran through, the Henan 河南 area. The name means "South from the river", which refers to the section of the Yellow River flowing roughly parallel to the Huangshui, in the eastern portion of modern Qinghai. This area is not to be confused with the modern Chinese province bearing the same name.

2. *The Era of Disintegration and the Emergence of the Tuyuhun Kingdom*

When the brief unification under the Western Jin-dynasty (265-317) ended with the occupation of Lanzhou (in 311) and Chang'an (the end of 316) by the Xiongnu Liu Cong 劉聰,³ the Chinese ruling elite were evacuated to South China, where the Sima clan continued their rule under the auspices of the Eastern Jin dynasty (Dong Jin 東晉 317-420). The Eastern Jin was then followed by the Liu Song 劉宋 (420-479), the Southern Qi 南齊 (479-502), the Southern Liang 南梁 (502-587)⁴ and the Chen 陳 (557-589) in the South, until the Sui (581-617) unified the whole of China again in 589. Between 317 and 589, the Chinese dynasties in the South could not extend their power to north China for it was occupied by a number of dynasties of mostly non-Han establishment. During these times, the southern dynasties, due to their geographical location and the occupation of the North by hostile powers, did not have access to the Hexi section. Yizhou 益州, located in the Sichuan basin, was these dynasties' main economic and cultural centre on their western flank. Yizhou was further connected by the Min 岷 and the Yangtze rivers to the capital, Jiankang 建康 (Nanjing 南京), in the East. It was mainly through the Yizhou and from there the Henan section that the southern dynasties could gain access to the Silk Road through the territory of the Tuyuhun.

In North China, the ephemeral states of the "five barbarians" contended with each other for hegemony.⁵ During these times, the Hexi section, the traditionally used passage between China and the Western Regions, was controlled by several of these barbarian states. Tao argues that during these times the Hexi-corridor was often obstructed, which explains why the alternative routes via Qinghai came into use.⁶ He also writes the following:

"For a long time, the Gansu Corridor dominated the links between Central China and the Western regions, but during this particular period, when

³ Liu Cong was the son of Liu Yuan 劉淵, the founder of the first barbarian kingdom the Xiongnu Former Zhao (Qian Zhao 前趙 304-329), of the Sixteen Kingdoms period. For more on the Former Zhao see: D. B. Honey, "The Rise of the Medieval Hsiung-nu: The Biography of Liu-Yüan", In: *Papers on Inner Asia, Subseries: Ancient Inner Asia*, 15 (1990), ed. Yuri Bregel.

⁴ Note that Southern Liaang and Southern Liang are not the same dynasties. The character of the former's name 梁 and in the latter's 涼 are different, but their modern Mandarin pronunciations are the same: *liang*. In order to make a distinction between the two, in this paper I spell the former name as Liaang.

⁵ For a summary of the barbarian kingdoms of the time see: P. Corradini, "The Barbarian States in North China", *Central Asiatic Journal*, 50/2 (2006), 163-232.

⁶ Tao Tong, *The Silk-Roads of the Northern Tibetan Plateau during the Early Middle Ages (from the Han to Tang dynasty as Reconstructed from Archaeological and Written Sources*, PhD Dissertation: Everhard-Karls University, Tübingen, 2008.

warfare and turmoil increased, the section that passed through the Huang Shui valleys came into use by travelers pursuing various goals.”⁷

In relation to this Xu Hongmei states:

„The Silk-Road was often obstructed by warfare and this gave rise to the trade routes in the territory of the Tuyuhun to become an important channel of communication between East and West.”⁸These explanations seem to be too convenient and simple; other factors also played important roles in the emergence and prosperity of the Qinghai sections (Huangshui, Henan, and Caidam) of the Silk Road. For a better understanding of the problem, we have to turn our attention both to the Hexicorridor and the Kuku-nor region, and to the events that took place there during the period under discussion.

The Hexi-corridor between 317-581

Not long before the Chinese elite of the Jin fled to the South in 317, Zhang Gui 張軌, the inspector (*mu* 牧) of Liangzhou 涼州, in the eastern half of the Hexi-corridor, claimed independence and established the Former Liang 前涼 dynasty (314–376). His regime was destroyed by Former Qin 前秦 (351–394), another barbarian state, in 376. Ten years later, Lü Guang 呂光 a Di general of the Former Qin, established his own state, the Later Liang 後涼 (386–403), in the same region. Later Liang’s collapse around the turn of the 5th century gave rise to three other “Liang” dynasties: Southern Liang 南涼 (397–414), Northern Liang 北涼 (398–439/60), and Western Liang 西涼 (400–421).⁹ Northern Liang was initially based in Zhangye and, in 412, it took Liangzhou from Southern Liang and shifted its capital there. Two years later, Southern Liang ceased to exist. In 420 and 421, Northern Liang took Jiuquan and Dunhuang from Western Liang and, upon its destruction, became the only power in the Hexi-corridor. By 439, Northern Wei 北魏 (386–534) destroyed Northern Liang and annexed the Hexi-corridor, conquering the whole of North China at the same time. Northern Wei then held control of the Hexi-corridor until 523, when serious rebellions broke out all over the empire, including within this region. In 526, the Tuyuhun acted as vassals of Northern Wei in suppressing the rebellion and gained control of the Hexi-corridor for a couple of years. Torn apart by rebellions, in 535 Northern Wei split into two halves, and the corridor from

⁷ Tao, *The Silk Roads*, 23.

⁸ Xu Hongmei, 许红梅 “Dulan xian chutu de Dong Luoma jinbi kaozheng” 都兰县出土的东罗马金币考证 In: *Minzu Lishi Yanjiu* 民族历史研究 15/2 (2004), 90–93, 92.

⁹ T. J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier*, Nomadic Empires and China 221 BC to AD 1757. Cambridge–Oxford 1992, 118.

then on belonged to Western Wei (Xi Wei 西魏 535–57). From 557, it belonged to Northern Zhou (Bei Zhou 北周 557–81).

From the above events, it is obvious that the Hexi-corridor was indeed often a scene of warfare and turmoil, especially between 317 and 439. The kingdoms of this period contended for control over the most important oases of the corridor: Liangzhou, Zhangye, Jiuquan, and Dunhuang.

The Huangshui and Henan Sections between 317–581

The Huangshui valley and its surroundings (the northeastern part of modern Qinghai) were also subject to contention between the numerous powers of northwest China. From the early 310s to 376, this territory was held by Former Liang. After the demise of Former Liang Former Qin (between 376–95), Later Liang then took possession of this piece of land (between 495 and 400). At the turn of the 5th century, the Qifu 乞伏 tribe of the Xianbei separated themselves from Later Liang and established their own state: Southern Liang. Xiping 西平 (modern Xining) and Ledu, located right on the bank of the Huangshui river, served as their capitals and the Qifu constantly fought for the valley with another separatist state, namely Northern Liang. After a brief occupation by the victorious Northern Liang, the valley was taken by yet another power: Western Qin (Xi Qin 西秦 385–431). This occurred in 415; they were able to hold it briefly before their destruction by the joint forces of the Tuyuhun, Northern Liang, and Da Xia in 431. The Tuyuhun at this time took control of the land until Northern Wei took it from them in 445. From this point on, Northern Wei and its western successors, Western Wei and Northern Zhou, possessed the valley up to the Riyue 日月 mountains.¹⁰

The Henan region, in the southeastern part of modern Qinghai, that connected the Tuyuhun with the Han-Chinese powers in South China, was taken from the Tuyuhun by the Western Wei in 553. By this point, the Western Wei was able to isolate the Chen dynasty and cut off most its communications with the Tuyuhun and, through them, the Western Regions.

The Tuyuhun and their Neighbours

In 285, not long before the emergence of the above barbarian states, an offshoot of the Murong 慕容 Xianbei under the leadership of the Tuyuhun migrated from Southern Manchuria, via the Yin 陰 mountains, and in the 310s arrived at what is now southwestern Gansu. Around 329, a grandson of the Tuyuhun, Tuyan 吐延 (318–330) established his state, which he named after his grandfather. They subjugated the local Qiang and Di tribes of southern Gansu

¹⁰ The Riyue Mountains that separate the Huangshui valley from the Qinghai lake served as the northeastern border of the Tuyuhun Kingdom.

and northern Sichuan and to the west, extended their territory roughly to the whole of the contemporary Qinghai province, and at times even to Eastern Xinjiang.¹¹ In the North and the East, the quickly emerging and vanishing northern powers became their neighbours, while in the southeast they had common borders with the dynasties of South China. The states of the Western Regions were located west of the Tuyuhun, an important area of trade, commerce, and cultural exchange for all Chinese powers.

The borders, especially in the North and the East, changed frequently. In the North, the ranges of the Qilian Mountains separated the Tuyuhun from the Hexi-corridor. In the East, the border between North China and the Tuyuhun fluctuated around what is today Western Gansu and Eastern Qinghai. In the southeast, by the Henan section, the Tuyuhun could make contact with Yizhou.

In 371 Suixi 碎奚 (352–375), a Tuyuhun sovereign, for the first time established relations with one of the sixteen states: Former Qin (351–395). The Tuyuhun Kingdom became a vassal state of Former Qin and paid it a regular tribute. The northern states rose and fell within short periods of time; most lasted only for a few decades and the Tuyuhun had to find ways to deal with those that became their neighbours. Between 390–431, they paid tribute to Western Qin 西秦 (385–431) and from 431 to 534 to Northern Wei 北魏 (386–534). During their history of relationships with these northern dynasties, the Tuyuhun were constantly seeking independence and when they felt strong enough, refused to pay tribute and also often looted their borders. This behaviour enticed retribution in the form of punitive expeditions. Thus, periods of war and peace alternated between the Tuyuhun and their neighbours in North China.

In 535, Northern Wei fell into two contending parts: Western Wei (534–557) and Eastern Wei (Dong Wei 東魏 534–550). They were later followed by Northern Zhou (557–581) and Northern Qi (Bei Qi 北齊 550–577), respectively. The Tuyuhun established friendly relations with Eastern Wei and Northern Qi, the states that were situated further to the East, and with whom they had no common border. Understandably their relationships with the neighboring Western Wei and Northern Zhou were typically not peaceful.

On the other hand, the southern dynasties aspiring to restore Chinese rule over a reunited North and South inherently opposed the northern powers. Due to its geographical position, the Tuyuhun Kingdom became a buffer zone between the South and the North. It also became a channel through which, by means of the Henan section,¹² the South could gain indirect access to the wealth

¹¹ The Tuyuhun Kingdom was not counted among the sixteen states of the North; nor did it belong to South China. Its territory laid west from China proper, or what Chinese historians refer to as Neidi 內地 “Inner lands”, but it shared its borders with both domains.

¹² It has to be mentioned here that according to Lubov-Lesničenko the route leading through the Caidam via the area of the Qinghai lake (through the Huangshui valley) reached Lanzhou 蘭州, from where the journey could be continued either

of the Western Regions. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Tuyuhuns' relationship with the southern dynasties was constantly peaceful, although it has to be noted that the South never rendered military aid to the Tuyuhun for their wars against the northern states. It was not only the southern dynasties that could access the Western Regions only via the Tuyuhun. Eastern Wei and Northern Qi, being situated in the eastern flank of the preceding Northern Wei, had no access to the Hexi-corridor over which their rivals, Western Wei and then Northern Zhou, held control. The Tuyuhun also provided access to the Western Regions across their own territory to these two states.

The Chinese chronicles outline the economy of the Tuyuhun and the characteristic products (*fangwu* 方物) of their land. They were famous for their sheep, long tailed yaks, and fine horses. Through the Silk Road, they obtained Persian mares which they then – according to belief – took to the island of the Qinghai lake where they were inseminated by a white dragon.¹³ The Tuyuhun were also specialists in training dancing horses, which were in constant demand in the Chinese courts.¹⁴

3. Travellers During the Era of Disintegration

Early Travellers

The trade routes across the Kuku-nor region were frequently used by merchants and artisans, as attested by the archaeological discoveries of the province.¹⁵ We know of a Sogdian artisan, who lived in the southern Liang

to North- or to South-China. Present-day Lanzhou during the times in discussion belonged to the northern dynasties by the name Jincheng 金城. Therefore, if one traveled to South-China along the Caidam- Huangshui-Jincheng-Sichuan route he inevitably had to proceed through the territory of a northern dynasty, suggesting that avoiding such a territory was not the reason of bypassing the Hexi-corridor. On the other hand, we know that there existed the Henan section connecting Sichuan with the area of the Qinghai lake. By this, northern territories could entirely be avoided and possibly cutting the journey shorter. See: L. Lesničenko, *Kitaj na Šelkovom Puti. šelk i vnešnje svjazi drevnego i rannesrednevekovogo Kitaja*, [China on the Silk-Road. Silk and the international relations of China in antiquity and the early Middle Ages] Moscow 1994

¹³ G. Molé, *The T'u-yü-hun from the Northern Wei to the Time of the Five Dynasties*. Roma 1970, 39, 115, note 180., also T. D. Carroll, *Account of the T'u-yü-hun in the History of the Chin Dynasty*. Berkeley-Los Angeles 1953, 23, note 34.

¹⁴ On dancing horses, see G. Molé, *The T'u-yü-hun*, 20, 28, 36.

¹⁵ Tao's dissertation (Tao, *The Silk Roads*) is strongly based on archaeological discoveries, which he assembled and discussed in detail. Xu Hongmei's (*Dulan xian*) paper discusses two Byzantine golden coins and to a lesser extent, the Sassanid silver coins that were unearthed in Qinghai. In relation to Qinghai's

Dynasty of South China, and whose father arrived from the West to Sichuan around the second quarter of the 6th century.¹⁶ His route of travel was not recorded, but there is a good chance that he took the Caidam and Henan sections. The presence of Sogdian and Chinese residents, most likely artisans, merchants and officials, is also attested to in the Tuyuhun Kingdom.¹⁷ However, those travellers whose itineraries are documented are mainly monks on pilgrimages.

Tao mentions seven monks who travelled through Qinghai between 399 and 535.¹⁸ Two of them, Fa Xian 法顯 (in 399) and Fa Yong 法勇 (in 420), according to Tao most probably travelled along the same route.¹⁹ They both started from Chang'an, which in 399 belonged to Later Qin Kingdom, and by 420 was sacked by Da Xia. On their journey, the monks reached the territory of Western Qin in the Huangshui valley; then turning to the North, they crossed the Qilian range and arrived in Zhangye, located in the middle of the Hexi-corridor. They could not take the Caidam section and thus bypass the entire Hexi-corridor, for the former came into use only after 423, possibly around 440.²⁰ Fa Xian arrived in the Hexi-corridor (in 399/400) when Later Liang was

connection with the Western regions and beyond, see A. Heller, "Some preliminary remarks on the Excavations at Dulan", *Orientalia* 29. (1998), 84-92., the two papers by Huo Wei 霍巍 "Lun Qinghai Dulan tuobo shiqi mudi kaogu fajue de wenhua shiyi", 论青海都兰吐蕃时期墓地考古发掘的文化史意义 [A discussion on the meaning of cultural history concerning archaeological excavation of the ancient tomb of Tubo regime period in Dulan county, Qinghai province] *Qinghai Minzu Xueyuan Xuebao* 青海民族学院学报 [Journal of Qinghai Nationalities Institute] 29/3 (2003), 24-31., and "Sute ren yu Qinghai dao" 粟特人与青海道 [The Sogdians and the Qinghai Road], *Sichuan Daxue Xuebao* 四川大学学报 [Journal of Sichuan University] No. 2, Sum No. 137 (2005), 94-98.; as well as the three articles by Xu Xinguo 许新国: "Dulan chutu sheli rongqi" 都兰出土舍利容器 [The Burial Vessels unearthed in Dulan County], *Zhongguo Zangxue* 中国藏学 86/2 (2009), 74-81.; "Dulan Reshui tubo muzang fajue shuyao," 都兰热水吐蕃墓葬发掘述要 [General description of the excavation of Tobo graves at Reshui, Dulan.] *Qinghai Difang Shizhi* 青海地方史志 1 (1984), "Dulan chutu shujin yu Tuyuhun zhi lu," 都兰出土蜀锦与吐谷浑之路 [The Shu silk unearthed in Dulan and the Tuyuhun Road] *Sichuan daxue zhongguo zangxue yanjiusuo* 四川大学中国藏学研究所 *Zangxue xuekan* (vol. 3), Tubo yu sichou zhi lu zhuanji, 藏学学刊 (第三辑), 吐蕃与丝绸之路研究专辑 [Tibetan studies, vol. 3, Special issue on Tubo and the Silk-Road Studies] (2007) 93-116.

¹⁶ É. de la Vaissère, *Sogdian Traders: a History*. Leiden-Boston 2005, 144, Huo, *Sute ren yu Qinghai dao*, 95.

¹⁷ G. Molé *The T'u-yü-hun*, xxvi.

¹⁸ Tao, *The Silk Roads*, 23, 29.

¹⁹ Tao, *The Silk Roads*, 23.

²⁰ Tao, *The Silk Roads*, 25. In 423, the Tuyuhun established a diplomatic relationship for the first time with a southern dynasty, namely Liu-Song. Later on, this communication between South China and the Western Regions was maintained by means of the Henan and Caidam sections.

falling apart and approaching its demise, which occurred in 403. Its rivals had already emerged by this time: Northern Liang in 398 in Zhangye, Southern Liang in 397 around Wuwei (Liangzhou), and Western Liang in 400 near Dunhuang. Thus, around the turn of the 5th century, the Hexi-corridor was indeed in turmoil. Yet Fa Xian travelled to its very centre and continued his journey westwards along its western half through Dunhuang.

When Fa Yong supposedly arrived in Zhangye around 420–421, Northern Liang controlled the city. In these exact years, battles were fought in the western half of the corridor. In 420, Western Liang, who controlled Jiuquan and Dunhuang, attacked Zhangye but was defeated. In a counteroffensive, Northern Liang took Jiuquan and Dunhuang, thus destroying Western Liang in 421. Considering the situations in the western half of the Hexi-corridor during the journeys of Fa Xian and Fa Yong, it seems doubtful that these two monks chose to travel along the Huangshui valley in order to avoid war. In fact, when travelling to Zhangye, they found themselves in the midst of turmoil and military operations. It is also highly unlikely that, by taking the Huangshui valley, they tried to avoid territories being under the control of states that rivalled their own.

Major fights in which Southern Liang, Northern Liang, Western Qin, and Da Xia were involved in the Huangshui valley, around modern Minhe, Ledu, and Xining took place between the two monks' journeys. In 413, Northern Liang annexed the Huangshui valley,²¹ and by 415, Western Qin had seized control.²² This means that when Fa Yong could have travelled there around 420–421, the Huangshui valley was likely a peaceful area, already controlled by Western Qin. However, 20 years prior to this, when Fa Xian travelled in the same area, this was not the case. It was right at that time, at the turn of the 5th century, when the Hexi Xianbei, the founders of Southern Liang, crossed the Qilian from the North and conquered the land.²³

In summary, the Huangshui valley is geographically separated from the Hexi-corridor by the ranges of the Qilian mountains, but was as much contended for by the dynasties of the era as were the oases of Hexi. In the author's opinion, there is no reason to assume that this area was significantly safer or more peaceful than the Hexi-corridor during the journeys of the above-mentioned two travellers. In addition, by taking this route, they bypassed only the eastern half of the Hexi-corridor. Therefore, the statement that constant warfare in the Hexi-corridor accounted for the rise and development of the Qinghai sections of the Silk Road invites revision. From the examples of the above monks, it is clear that this explanation not work for the Huangshui section.

Tao does not mention Zhi Meng 智猛, another monk, who travelled to the

²¹ Tao, *The Silk Roads*, 22.

²² *Qinghai jianshi*. 青海简史 [A brief history of Qinghai] ed. In chief Wang Yu 王昱, Xining 2012, 45.

²³ Wang, *Qinghai jianshi*, 40.

Western Regions all the way through the Hexi-corridor. He started his journey in Chang'an, the capital of Later Qin in 404, and proceeded via Liangzhou and the Yang pass 陽關.²⁴ By this time, Later Liang had vanished and the Hexi-corridor was divided between Southern-, Northern-, and Western Liang. Zhi Meng passed through all of these rivaling states. Essentially, the same can be said about Fa Xian with the difference that at the time of his travel, these states had just appeared. The two monks started their journey from the same capital, around the same time, and travelled roughly under the same political circumstances yet they chose different paths.

We might add that none of the above travellers stepped on Tuyuhun soil (they occupied the area only between 431 and 445). Thus, their neutrality cannot account for those monks' choice of routes who chose to take the Huansghui valley.

Later Travellers

The rest of the travellers who travelled between 440 and 557, the period when Northern- (385–535) and Western Wei (535–557) ruled over northwest China, all avoided the Hexi-corridor. Hui Lan, Fa Xiann 法獻, and Ming Da travelled between the Sichuan basin and the Western Regions.²⁵ Their choice of route, i. e. the avoidance of the Hexi-corridor, is completely understandable as they travelled either to or from South China, and thus they wanted to avoid the hostile northern territories.

The explanation of northern travellers' choices of route is more problematic. Song Yun 宋雲 and Hui Sheng 惠生 in 518 travelled from Loyang (the capital of Northern Wei) to the Western Regions.²⁶ Jinagupta 闍那崛多 (also Zhide 志德) travelled from Gandhara to Chang'an between 554 and 559, reaching Shanzhou (Ledu) in 557. They all chose to bypass the Hexi-corridor, taking instead the

²⁴ LGSZ: 3.10.

²⁵ Hui Lan 慧覽 (between 440–444) and Ming Da (in 502) travelled from the Western Regions to Yizhou while Fa Xiann (in 475) travelled from Yizhou to the Western Regions. We know of two different monks by the name Fa Xian. Their names are identical only in transcription. Fa Xian 法顯 (337–422) was from North China, present-day Shanxi. Fa Xiann 法獻 (423–97) was a southerner from the Liu-Song-dynasty. Tao (*The Silk Roads*, 23, 28) mentions both monks but neither gives the Chinese characters of their names nor does he point out that they were not the same person. Xu Hongmei (*Dulan xian*, 92) mentions only Fa Xian, but confuses their names.

²⁶ Tang Changru, 唐长儒 "Nanbeichao qijian xiyu yu nanchao de lulu jiaotong," 南北朝期间西域与南朝的陆路交通 [The Inland Communications between the Southern Dynasties and the Western Regions during the Northern and Southern Dynasties Period] In: *Weijin nanbeichao shilun shiyi* 魏晋南北朝史论拾遗 [Collection of Essays on the Periods of the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties] ed. Tang Changru [Beijing] 1983, 168–195, 188.

Caidam and Huangshui sections. In 518, Northern Wei held control over both Loyang and the Hexi-corridor. Thus, it was not occupied by an enemy or disturbed by war at this time. Rebellions only broke out there in the 520s.

In 556, when Jinagupta was already on his way to Western Wei, the Turks and Western Wei jointly attacked the Tuyuhun in the Huangshui valley near the Qinghai lake. When Jinagupta a year later arrived at Shanzhou in the middle of the Huangshui valley, in this very year Western Wei was replaced by Northern Zhou (557 to 81), and the Tuyuhun stormed Liangzhou, Hesanzhou and Shanzhou, three prefectures in the Hexi-corridor.²⁷ Thus, neither the Hexi nor the Huangshui sections were particularly safe at this time. Jinagupta's destination was initially Western Wei/Northern Zhou, yet he chose to travel across the domain of the Tuyuhun, who were at this time openly hostile towards these dynasties. Tao hints that Jinagupta chose the Caidam and Huangshui sections because, in the Northern Zhou period, the Turks had control over the Hexi-corridor. However, for what reason would Jinagupta prefer a section under the control of the Turks who were allies of Western Wei, the dynasty towards which he was proceeding? On the other hand, the Turks were unlikely to have much control over the region by 556-67, as only with Western Wei permission and assistance could they attack the Tuyuhun via Liangzhou.

A few years earlier, in 553, when the Tuyuhun and Northern Qi (550-577) were allied against Western Wei, the prefect of Liangzhou (Western Wei) captured a Tuyuhun delegation travelling with a huge caravan consisting of 240 Sogdian merchants and 600 camels returning back from Northern Qi. This indicates that even those who had good reasons to avoid hostile territory did take the risk of crossing such an area.²⁸ Zhang Qian's 張騫 well-known journey from the early Han-dynasty 漢 (206 BC -220 AD) is also a classic example of taking such a risk.²⁹

²⁷ Zhou Weizhou, 周伟州 *Tuyuhun shi*. 吐谷浑史 [The History of the Tuyuhun] Shanghai 1983, 50.

²⁸ ZS: 2, Zhou, *Tuyuhun shi*, 49.

²⁹ Han Wudi (140-87 BC.) in 139 or 138 sent his envoy Zhang Qian to a westward journey in order to find the Great Yuezhi and ask them to ally with the Han against the Xiongnu. Zhang travelled through the Xiongnu-controlled Hexi-corridor where he was caught and held captive for a decade. In captivity, he married a Xiongnu woman and had a son. According to the *Shiji*, when Zhang Qian was transferred to the *shanyu*, the ruler said to him: 月氏在吾北，漢何以得往使？吾欲使越，漢肯聽我乎？ "The Yuezhi live North of us. How it is that the Han sends an envoy to them? What if I wanted to send an envoy to Yue? Would the Han be willing to give consent? SJ: 123, HS: 61

4. Conclusions

It is beyond doubt that the sections of the Silk Road in the Kuku-nor region existed and played a significant role in international commerce. The Tuyuhun mediated between the Western Regions and their allies who did not have access to the Hexi-corridor. However, it is an inadequate explanation to suggest that the emergence and prosperity of the routes through the Huangshui valley and across the Caidam basin was due to chronic warfare and turmoil in the Hexi-corridor. It is also a possibility that, by the 5th century, the Kuku-nor region had become more attractive than it was before.

In Han times, agriculture and irrigation systems were developed in the Huangshui valley. After the Han abandoned the area and fell, the Qiang remained and continued to use the facilities. Lianchuanbao, Ledu, and Xiping were probably newly emerging centres of production, commerce, and culture. Often the statlets who occupied the Hexi-corridor could, or at least tried, to occupy the Huangshui valley as well. The fact that a good number of states contended for control of this region and that Southern Liang had its capitals here demonstrate its key position in the northwestern frontiers. As the Tuyuhun did not hold the Huangshui valley for a long time, associating the popularity of the Huangshui section with the neutrality or safety of the Tuyuhun Kingdom would be misleading.

The Henan and Caidam sections were used by southern travellers only after the 440s. Therefore, their avoidance of the Hexi section cannot be explained by warfare in the Hexi-corridor, but rather by its occupation by the northern dynasties.

The question of why the northern travellers, who used the Huangshui and Caidam sections, chose to travel all across the Tuyuhun Kingdom is difficult to answer through the concept of the Hexi-corridor being blocked by hostile powers or warfare. One possible contribution to the explanation of the popularity of this route might be the attractiveness of the unprecedented political and economic environment that the Tuyuhun created in the Kuku-nor region. In the first half of the 4th century, the Tuyuhun subjugated the Qiang and Di, and established their own state. Their kingdom evolved from a characteristically military nomad state to a more Chinese-style state with civil administration, and simultaneously walled cities gradually emerged on their territory. The Tuyuhun were descendants of the Murong-Xianbei, the creators of Former Yan-dynasty (Qian Yan 前燕 337-370), who had learned the arts of running a Chinese-style government in South Manchuria. The Qiang and Di had not built a state or united their tribes in a centralised confederation.³⁰

³⁰ On the political organisation of the Murongs' dynasties, see: T. J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier*: 105-114. For a detailed study of the Former Yan, see: G. Schreiber, "The History of the Former Yen Dynasty, Part I.," *Monumenta Serica*. XIV. (1955), 374-480 and The History of the Former Yen Dynasty, Part II.," *Monumenta Serica*. XV. (1956), 1-141.

Therefore, they brought a higher degree of political organisation and came up with the highly-demanded items of pastoral production. This, along with South China's isolation from the Hexi-corridor, might have also contributed to the popularity of the Caidam section, which later also became an important route for the northerners. The presupposition that the route along the Hexi-corridor was inherently a better option for travellers, and that the Qinghai sections of the Silk Road were used only when there was something in the Hexi-corridor to avoid, therefore might not be an all-pervasive explanation.

Baz Qayan and the Transformation of Toquz Oyuz^{*}

CHEN HAO¹



The transformation of the concept of toquz oyuz in Medieval Eurasia is a good example for us to observe the nuances of the changes and continuities of nomadic societies. The designation of toquz oyuz in Runic Turkic inscriptions was relatively clear; it was one of the tribal confederations of the Türk Qayanate and four members of the toquz oyuz had found shelter in the prefectures of Gan and Liang in the northwest of China. The Turks used the term oyuz to refer to the toquz oyuz. The concept of toquz oyuz changed essentially in the Uyğur Qayanate after the Uyğur itself became a member of the toquz oyuz confederation. For example, in the Šine-Uşu Inscription, besides toquz oyuz there also appears sekiz oyuz, apparently not including Uyğur. In the Chinese sources, the records about toquz oyuz in the Uyğur Qayanate are extremely limited. This period formed part of the process of the disintegration of toquz oyuz.

The transformation of *toquz oyuz* in Medieval Eurasia is a good example for us to observe the nuances of the changes and continuities of nomadic societies. Previous research on this topic has essentially involved etymological studies.² The Turkic term *toquz oyuz* appears many times in the Old Turkic Inscriptions (see below). The Japanese historian T. Haneda convincingly identifies it with

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¹ Shanghai University.

² B. Munkácsi, “Ursprung des Volksnamens ‘Ugor’,” *Ethnologische Mitteilungen aus Ungarn* V (1896), 7-10, 89-92; E. G. Pulleyblank, “Some remarks on the Toquzoghuz Problem,” *Ural-altaische Jahrbücher* 1956 (28), 35-42; J. Hamilton, “Toquz-Oyuz et On-Uyyur,” *Journal Asiatique* 1962, 23-64; B. P. Golden, “Oq and Oğur- Oğuz,” *Turkic Languages* 16 (2012), 155-199.

the designation *jiuxing*, “nine surnames”, in Chinese sources.³ According to these Chinese sources, the *jiuxing* was a term referring to the tribes within the Tiele confederation. Originally there were up to fifteen tribes, and until the middle of the 8th century, there were approximately nine tribes left: Uyghur, Pugu (EMC⁴: *haw-k-kɔʰ*<OT⁵: Bögü), Hun, Bayegu (EMC: *bəiit-jia'-kɔʰ*< OT: Bayırqu), Tonglu (EMC: *dəwŋ-la*< OT: Tonra), Sijie (EMC: *si-ket*< OT: Izgil), Qibi, Abusi and Gulunwugu.⁶ In Turkic languages, *toquz* means “nine”; here, the meaning of *oyuz* has been the subject of debate for a long time. The interpretation that *oyuz* should be a variant form of the Old Turkic *oyuś*, which means “tribe, ethnic group”, seems reliable. In this paper, I am not going to offer another etymological interpretation of *oyuz*. Rather, the focus will be placed on the historical context of *toquz oyuz*, and the transformation of its meaning in the history of Medieval Eurasia.

In the Toñuquq Inscription, there are several places that mention *toquz oyuz* and *oyuz*. According to Toñuquq’s narrative, after the Türk people declared independence and the Türk qayan ascended the throne, “so many Chinese in the south, Qitañ people in the east and Oyuz in the north were killed [by Türk]” (cf. T. 6-7).⁷ After rebelling against the Chinese government, the Türk people found shelter in the Black Sand, eating wild game and hares. They then intercepted a piece of intelligence that “a qayan ascended the throne over Toquz Oyuz people”. This message was brought by “a fugitive from the side of Oyuz”. (cf. T. 8-9).⁸ It is noteworthy that in the Toñuquq Inscription, both the

³ Haneda Tōru, “Kyūsei Kaikotsu to Toquzoyuz to no kankei o ronzu,” [On the relationship between Jiuxing Uyghurs and Toquz Oyuz] *Tōyō gakuho* 9 (1919), 1–61, 141–145.

⁴ EMC is an abbreviation of Early Middle Chinese.

⁵ OT is an abbreviation of Old Turkic.

⁶ Liu Xu et al., *Jiu Tangshu* 199b, 5343; Wang Pu, *Tanghuiyao* 98, 1955, 1744. All the Chinese official histories cited in this article are the punctuated edition of the Zhonghua Publishing House. The pronunciation of Early Middle Chinese will be provided here according to the reconstruction of E. G. Pulleyblank, *Lexicon of Reconstruction in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Middle Mandarin*, Vancouver 1991.

⁷ Here, T. is an abbreviation of the Toñuquq Inscription, and the roman number corresponds to the line. There are already many editions of the Old Turkic Inscriptions. Talat Tekin’s work remains the most influential one. (cf. T. Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, Bloomington 1968). In my doctoral thesis, *A History of the Second Türk Empire (ca. 682-745 AD): Through a combination of Old Turkic Inscriptions and Chinese sources* (Free University of Berlin 2016), I also have made my own transcription and translation of the three main Old Turkic inscriptions, i.e. the Toñuquq Inscription, Kül Tegin Inscription, and Bilgä Qayan Inscription. The citations of the Old Turkic inscriptions in this article are from my doctoral thesis.

⁸ The Old Turkic transcription is: *oyuzdundan küräg kälti*. The first suffix of *oyuzdundan* is the orientational suffix +*dXn*, and the second suffix is the ablative +*dAn*. (cf. A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*, Wiesbaden 1941, § 183; M. Erdal, *A Grammar of Old Turkic*, Leiden–Boston 2004, 181, 174) According to M. Erdal, its

terms *oyuz* and *toquz oyuz* were used in the same situation. From this usage, we can conclude that in the case of the Toñuquq Inscription, *oyuz* could be a shorter form of *toquz oyuz*. In the eyes of Toñuquq, or more accurately until the time the memorial was established, *toquz oyuz* could be shortened as *oyuz*, implying that the attributive element (i.e. nine) of the term was not indispensable information. Toñuquq did not give the full form of the term *toquz oyuz*, partly because it was self-evident for him and his readers that the number of the members within Oyuz was *toquz* (nine), not *säkiz* (eight) or *üč* (three). We will discuss Säkiz Oyuz later. The phrase *üč oyuz* appears once on the eastern side of Bilgä Qayan, but it seems that it was not an ethnic name as T. Tekin has suggested, but solely meant “three Oyuz groups”.⁹

The intelligence intercepted by Toñuquq also included the notion that the qayan over Toquz Oyuz intended to unite China and Qitañ to form an alliance against the rising power, i.e. the Türks (cf. T. 9-11). Here, it is reasonable for us to infer that the so-called Toquz Oyuz was an independent political unity and military force, just like China, Qitañ, and the Türks. Having realised the urgent situation, on the advice of Toñuquq, the Türk qayan decided to send a military expedition towards the Oyuz. After a medium scale battle at the Tuyla River, the Türks defeated the Oyuz troops. After the conquest of the Oyuz people in Ötükän, which was a sacred place and represented the legitimacy of rule in the eyes of the steppe people, the Türk people settled down there, accepting the allegiance of people from all directions (cf. T. 12-17). The rebellion of the Türk people against the Chinese government and their return to Ötükän Mountain have also been narrated by Bilgä Qayan in the memorial of Kül Tegin. When describing the urgent political situation of the Türks, he mentioned that in the North, Baz Qayan and the Toquz Oyuz people were enemies¹⁰ (cf. K. E. 14). When Eltäriš Qayan passed away, Baz Qayan was made into a *balbal* (stone figure), in commemoration of him. Considering the same historical context of the narratives of T. 12-17 and K. E. 11-14, the “Baz Qayan” mentioned by Bilgä Qayan should be the same “qayan over the Toquz Oyuz” as mentioned by Toñuquq.

The Baz Qayan over Toquz Oyuz was a key figure; therefore, it is necessary for us to reveal his identity. From Chinese sources, we know that within the Toquz Oyuz confederation, the Uyghur tribe was then the most powerful polity and was the only one who had the possibility of owning an independent qayan. Since Zhen-guan XX (ca. 646), though nominally under the rule of the Tang government, the Uyghur had already owned a qayan. In that year, the

vowel would (after a rounded vowel) have had to be explicitly spelled as if the inscription had had the ablative suffix as *+dIn*. Therefore, he transcribed this word as *oyuzdundan* (cf. Erdal, *A Grammar of Old Turkic*, 174-175.). For further discussions, see V. Rybatzki, *Die Toñuquq Inschrift*, Szeged 1997, 47, 90.

⁹ Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 392.

¹⁰ Here, K. is an abbreviation of Kül Tegin Inscription; E. stands for “the eastern side”, and the roman number corresponds to the line of the inscription.

Uyghur chief Tumidu (EMC: *tʰɔʷ-mɛj-dɔʰ*) ascended the throne and established a similar administrative system to that of the First Türk Empire, including six outer ministers, three inner ministers, plus several *dudu* (i.e. commanders), *jiangjun* (i.e. generals), and *sima* (i.e. adjutants).¹¹ It is known that the Chinese titles *dudu* and *jiangjun* were borrowed into Old Turkic as *tutuq* and *sänjün*, meaning “commander” and “general”, respectively. However, what is hardly known is that the title *sima* mentioned here was also borrowed into Old Turkic as *simä*, meaning “adjutant”, referring to a lower military rank.¹² In the Toñuquq Inscription, the envoy sent by the Toquz Oγuz qayan to the Qitañ was called Toñra Simä, whose title was exactly the same as we have found in the Uyghur administrative system. Besides this, in the Toñuquq Inscription, the envoy dispatched by the Toquz Oγuz qayan to Tang was Qunī Sänjün, whose title can also be found in the Uyghur administrative system. Considering the fact that the titles of the envoys sent by the Toquz Oγuz qayan could perfectly match the titles in the Uyghur bureaucratic system, and the fact that within the Toquz Oγuz confederation only the Uyghurs had an independent qayan, we can ascertain that the Baz Qayan over Toquz Oγuz mentioned by Toñuquq and Bilgä Qayan was a Uyghur qayan, but which one?

Regarding Uyghur history before the year 744, the records are quite scarce in Chinese sources, from which we can only draw a sketchy reigning sequence. Hans Bielenstein has collected all the Chinese sources concerning diplomatic matters and trade between the Uyghurs and Tang, and translated them into English.¹³ Here, we are going to focus on the field of politics and military. In 648, Tumidu was killed by his nephew Wuhe (EMC: *ʔɔ-γət*), who had had an affair with the former’s wife. However, Wuhe did not manage to win support from the Tang court. He was executed by a Tang general. The son of Tumidu, Porun (EMC: *ba-nwinʰ*), was appointed by the Tang court as Grand Silifa (EMC: *ʒiʰ-liʰ-puat*<OT: *elitbär*), in charge of the military affairs of the Uyghurs.¹⁴ Porun took a very cooperative gesture with the Tang court and made a great contribution to Tang’s conquest of the On Oq people. He passed away during the Longshuo years (ca. 661 to 663). After his death, his nephew Bisudu (EMC: *bjiʰ-suwk-dəwk*) ascended the throne and turned hostile to the Tang.¹⁵ Along with the Pugu (EMC: *bawk-kɔʰ*<OT: *Bögü*) and Tongluo (EMC: *dəwɣ-la*<OT: *toñra*) tribes, he plundered the Tang’s land. The Tang emperor could not bear such provoca-

¹¹ Ouyang Xiu et al., *Xin Tangshu* 217a, 6113; Liu Xu et al., *Jiu Tangshu* 195, 5196.

¹² G. Shimin, *Studies of the Old Turkic Inscriptions*, Beijing 2005, 109.

¹³ H. Bielenstein, *Diplomacy and Trade in the Chinese World 589-1276*, Leiden-Boston 2005.

¹⁴ The conventional spelling of this title is *eltäbär*. Since scholars have found the original form of this title in the Bactrian inscription as *hilitbēr*, Turkologists are inclined to give the Turkic form as *elitbär*. Cf. N. Sims-Williams, “Ancient Afghanistan and its invaders: Linguistic evidence from the Bactrian documents and inscriptions,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 2002 (116), 225–242; M. Erdal, “*Helitbär* and some other early Turkic titles and names”, forthcoming.

¹⁵ *Xin Tangshu* says he was the son of Porun, see *Xin Tangshu* 217a, 6114.

tion and launched a punitive campaign towards the Toquz Oyuz. The Tang succeeded in putting down the rebellion and included the land of the Toquz Oyuz as an administrative area of China. Bisudu fled and, from that point onwards, he disappeared from the Chinese sources. The next leader of the Uyghurs was Dujiezhi (EMC: *dəwk-kaij'-teiä*), whose rule began from in the Yonglong period (the year of the snake, i.e. 680-681).¹⁶

From Dujiezhi onwards, the records about the Uyghurs in the Chinese sources become even more fragmentary and are sometimes contradictory. According to *Jiu Tangshu*, his successor was Fudifu (EMC: *buwk-tej^h*), whose rule began in the Sisheng period (the year of the monkey, i.e. 684). The next leader was Chengzong (EMC: *dziŋ-tsawŋ*), ruling in the middle of the Kaiyuan period (i.e. until 714). From the Chinese sources, we know that in Chuigong I. (the year of rooster, i.e. 685), there was a large-scale migration of the Oyuz people towards China, partly because of the political turmoil that occurred on the steppe, and partly because of the severe famine.¹⁷ The Chinese government built several stations on the border to receive the refugees from the steppe. At least four groups of the Oyuz found shelter in Prefecture Liang and Prefecture Gan (today's Gansu Province). They were Uyghur, Qibi (EMC: *k^hit-bjit*), Sijie (EMC: *si-ket* < OT: Izgil), and Hun. As they obtained protection from China, in return, they were enrolled into the Chinese Chishui Army.¹⁸ The author of *Xin Tangshu* attributed the political turmoil on the steppe to the invasion of the Türks.¹⁹ This means that the Türks' invasion of Toquz Oyuz had taken place before the year of the rooster (i.e. 685).²⁰ The Uyghur Baz qayan, who was made into a *balbal* by the Türks, could be either Dujiezhi or his son Fudifu, because the next qayan ruled from the year 714 onwards.

Who was the Baz Qayan exactly? Between Dujiezhi and his son Fudifu, we have to make a decision. There are many interpretations of *balbal* by modern scholars, but basically it was a custom of the Türk society: in order to honor a hero's achievement, people would erect a stone figure or stone figures at his death, imitating the look of an enemy that he had killed in his lifetime.²¹ In the Chinese sources, *balbal* is translated as "stone of the killed".²² Therefore, Baz Qayan should have been killed by the Türk Eltäriş Qayan in battle. Between

¹⁶ *Jiu Tangshu* 195, 5197-5198; *Xin Tangshu* 217a, 6113-6114.

¹⁷ *Quantangwen* 209, 2119-2120.

¹⁸ *Xin Tangshu* 217a, 6114.

¹⁹ In *Xin Tangshu*, it is written that "During the reign of Empress Wu, the Türk Qapyan Qayan was very strong, and he occupied the land of Oyuz. So, the Uyghur along with the Qibi, Sijie and Hun migrated to Prefecture Gan and Prefecture Liang." (cf. *Xin Tangshu* 217a, 6114). Here, the compiler of *Xin Tangshu* made a mistake. During this time, Eltäriş Qayan was still alive.

²⁰ The year of the rooster began on 09.02.685 and ended on 29.01.686.

²¹ L. Jisl: *Balbals, Steinbabas und andere Steinfiguren als Äusserungen der Religiösen Vorstellungen der Ost-Türken*, Prag 1970; *The Orkhon Türks and Problems of the Archaeology of the Second Eastern Türk Kaghhanate*, Praha 1997, 61-71.

²² *Zhoushu* 50, 910.

Dujiezhi and his son Fudifu, which one could be the qayan who was killed during the battle with Türks before the year 685? The answer is obvious: Dujiezhi, because Fudifu's ruling period began from 684 and ended in 714 or later. We can infer that the main reason for Tang court's being unable to obtain updated information about the Uyghur after Dujiezhi was the Türks' conquest over Toquz Oγuz. Therefore, based on the Uyghur chronological data preserved in the Chinese sources, we have come to the conclusion that Baz Qayan, the ruler of the Toquz Oγuz mentioned in the Old Turkic inscriptions, should be identified with Dujiezhi in the Chinese records. The phonetic correspondence between *dujiezhi* (EMC: *dəwk-kaij'-teiä*) and *baz* is hard to tell. However, this is not the only example where the Turkic title cannot match the transcription in the Chinese sources. We can compare this with the cases of Eltäriš Qayan and Qapγan Qayan, whose names in the Chinese sources are written as Gudulu and Mochuo. Here, the Chinese term *dujiezhi* might be a transcription of one of his earlier titles before he had become the Uyghur qayan.

Although neither Toñuquq nor Bilgä Qayan gave any hint of the date concerning this event, we can still ascertain, with the assistance of the Chinese records, the year in which the Türk troops campaigned towards Ötükän and conquered the Oγuz people there. *Jiu Tangshu* tells us that, after Dujiezhi's death, his son Fudifu ascended the throne in the Sisheng year (i.e. the year of monkey, 684).²³ This information helps us to ascertain that the Türks must have finished their conquest over the Toquz Oγuz by the end of the Sisheng year. From then onwards, the Türk qayan started to move their horde to the Ötükän.

As the narrative of the Toñuquq Inscription is limited to the reign of Eltäriš Qayan, until 691, in order to trace the further activities of the Toquz Oγuz, we are forced to rely on the other important inscriptions, namely the Kül Tegin and Bilgä Qayan inscriptions.²⁴ At some point before Kül Tegin was twenty-six years old, the great *irkin* of Bayırqu became the enemy. "We routed and demolished them at Türgi Yargu Lake" (cf. K. E. 34). When Kül Tegin was thirty years old, the Izgil people turned hostile. "Izgil people died; the Toquz Oγuz people had been my (i.e. Bilgä Qayan) own subjects, but they became the enemy because of the disorder in heaven and on earth" (cf. K. N. 4; B. E. 29). The Türk army fought against the Oγuz five times within that year. "The second time we battled against Ädiz at Qušlayaq." "The fourth time we fought at the top of Čuš...we surrounded and killed one clan-warrior and ten people of Toñra at the funeral of Toñra Tegin" (cf. K. N. 7; B. E. 31). From the above citations, we are able to gain the impression that during the reign of Qapγan

²³ *Jiu Tangshu* 195, 5198.

²⁴ I agree to G. Clauson's view that Toñuquq's memorial was established in the year 716. Yet I disagree with his assumption that the events narrated by Toñuquq occurred as late as 716 (cf. G. Clauson, "Some notes on the inscription of Toñuquq," In: *Studia Turcica* ed. L. Ligeti, Budapest 1971, 125-132). In my doctoral thesis, I have discussed this issue; the conclusion is that Toñuquq limited his narrative to the reign of Eltäriš Qayan, which means until the year 691.

Qayan, the Oyuz tribes who resisted the Türk forces were basically Bayırqu, Ādiz, Toṇra, and Izgil. As the Izgil people had already moved to China in the year 684 together with the Uyghur, the Izgil here might refer to the faction that had remained on the steppe.

Returning to the Chinese records, the Uyghurs after serving in the Chinese army for more than forty years, began to experience conflict and clashes with the local Chinese government and they were forced to leave China. Finally, in 727, the Uyghurs returned to the Ötükän.²⁵ Due to the scarcity of sources, we are unable to trace further the activities of Toquz Oyuz during this period. However, it seems that, as the Oyuz groups who had migrated to China returned to the steppe, they formed a political and military confederation with other Oyuz groups who had remained on the steppe, to fight against the Türk Empire. Finally, in the year 744, the Uyghurs founded their own empire on the steppe.

It is noteworthy that in the Old Turkic inscriptions, the Uyghurs were never mentioned, except in the final years of the Türk Empire. Instead, the term Toquz Oyuz, or simply Oyuz, has always been used to refer to the political confederation. On the contrary, the other Oyuz groups, such as Bayırqu, Izgil and Toṇra, were mentioned. From the absence of the Uyghur in the Toṇuquq Inscription, the Kül Tegin Inscription and the Bilgä Qayan Inscription, we infer that during the Second Türk Empire (ca. 682-745), the Uyghur were only members of the Oyuz confederation and were not prominent ones. However, in 745, the Uyghur managed to establish an empire of their own. The Chinese sources that we know of state that, at that point, there appeared a new structure of nine Uyghur surnames. The transcriptions of the nine Uyghur surnames are as follows: Yaoluoge, Huduoge, Jueluowu, Mogexihe, Awudi, Gesa, Huwensu, Yaowuge, and Xixiewu. It is difficult to reconstruct their Old Turkic forms. The first one is the surname of the Uyghur royal house. Later on, they also absorbed Basmil and Qarluq. Thus, there were eleven surnames in total.²⁶ In the Šine-Usu/Moyun Čor Inscription of the Uyghur Empire, there is a term *on uyyur*.²⁷ It seems that the structure of the surnames was not fixed by the Uyghurs. Although there is a lack of direct evidence, we assume that the Uyghurs inherited the traditional political structure of “toquz/nine”, but replaced the nine Oyuz surnames with nine Uyghur surnames. Therefore, why did the Uyghurs abandon the traditional nomadic political confederation of *toquz oyuz*?

By the year 745, as the last Türk qayan was killed, the Uyghurs became the new masters of the Eurasian steppe, which means that from then on, they were no longer at the same status as the other members of Toquz Oyuz. In order to highlight their dominant and special political position, the Uyghurs decided to construct a new political structure consisting of nine Uyghur surnames to replace the old structure of nine Oyuz surnames. In the Šine-Usu/Moyun Čor

²⁵ *Xin Tangshu* 217a, 6114; *Jiu Tangshu* 195, 5198.

²⁶ *Xin Tangshu* 217a, 6114.

²⁷ S. E. Malov, *Pamjatniki Drevnetjurskoj Pis'mennosti*. Moskva 1959, 34.

Inscription of the Uyghur Empire, there is a term *sākiz oyuz*, obviously referring to the *toquz oyuz* without the Uyghur.²⁸ The former Oyuz tribes disintegrated and they gradually disappeared from the historical sources, either Chinese or Turkic. Regarding the migrations of the Oyuz people from Mongolia into Central Asia and even further, P. B. Golden has conducted an excellent piece of research by collecting the relevant sources that are preserved in different languages including those written in Arabic, Persian, and Turkic.²⁹

The transformation of the political structure on the steppe from Toquz Oyuz to On Uyghur in the second half of the 8th century had an influential consequence. In the year 840, the Qırqız invaded the Uyghur Empire from the north and successfully drove the Uyghurs away from the steppe. However, the Qırqız did not stay on the steppe; rather, they returned home, causing a political vacuum on the steppe for a long time, until the Mongols arose and established a new Eurasian empire in the 13th century. If the Toquz Oyuz confederation had not been disintegrated by the Uyghurs, there would have been a political force to succeed the Uyghurs in 840. In other words, the continuity of the Eurasian political tradition was broken by the Uyghurs. Michael Drompp, although from other perspectives, termed this phenomenon of the political vacuum, which was caused by Qırqız's destroying of Uyghurs, as the "break of the Orkhon tradition".³⁰

²⁸ Malov, *Pamjatniki*, 35; T. Moriyasu and A. Ochir, *Provisional Report of Researches on Historical Sites and Inscriptions in Mongolia from 1996-1998*. Toganaka 1999, 179.

²⁹ B. P. Golden, "The Migrations of the Oğuz," *Archivum Ottomanicum* IV. The Hague 1972, 45-84.

³⁰ M. Drompp, "Breaking the Orkhon Tradition: Kirghiz adherence to the Yenisei region after A. D. 840," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 119/3 (1999), 390-403.

An Epic Geography of the Oyuz-nāmā in Uyghur Script

BALÁZS DANKA¹



The present paper examines the proper names occurring in the pagan Oyuz-nāmā (PON) in the Uyghur script and attempts to match historical political formations to them. It is clear that these names belong to several temporal layers and their order of occurrence within the text does not follow a chronological order. The analysis highlights the dynamic evolution of PON's plot. Four temporal layers were detected within the text (7–9th centuries, 10–12th centuries, 13th century, and 14–15th centuries) and the related events in PON were put on a map. It can be concluded that the text must have been written in the 15th century in the lower Volga region, in the territory of the Great Horde, and the latest temporal layer of PON's plot was influenced by Kipchak historical tradition built upon a Mongolian substratum.

The Oyuz-nāmā in the Uyghur script (in the following, PON²) is a unique piece of the Oghuz-tradition. The exact date and place of its emergence is disputed. Its only manuscript is held in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.³ The manuscript consists of 21 folios (42 pages). Some folios are damaged; originally there were nine lines of text written on each pages. The text was written in the Uyghur(-Mongolian) script; its total length is 376 lines. Its language is the Middle-Turkic dialect, which shows Kipchak features.⁴

PON has several editions. The earliest one was made by Wilhelm Radloff, which contains the first eight pages of the manuscript's facsimile,⁵ and the

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² The abbreviation PON is based on the terms 'Pagan Oyuz-nāmā' or 'pre-Islamic Oyuz-nāmā'.

³ *Supplément Turc.* No. 1001. The digital photos of the manuscript are accessible on the webpage of the library: <http://expositions.bnf.fr/islam/gallica/turc2.htm>

⁴ B. Danka, "A zárt illabiális vokálisok jelölésének problémája a „pogány” Oyuz-nāmāban,” [The problem of marking closed illabial vowels in the 'pagan' Oyuz-nāmā] In: *Lingdok 13. Nyelvészdoktoranduszok dolgozatai*, ed. Zs. Gécseg, Szeged 2014, 9–27.

⁵ W. Radloff, *Kudatku Bilik – Facsimile der uigurischen Handschrift*. St. Petersburg 1890, 291–292.

German translation of the text.⁶ Riza Nour published the source in 1928. He adapted the text to the Arabic script, made a transcription of it, and commented on the text in French. This edition also contains a part of the facsimile.⁷ Paul Pelliot made critical comments on Nour's edition.⁸ The most well-known edition of PON was published by Willy Bang and Reşid Rahmeti Arat in 1932,⁹ which was translated into Turkish four years later.¹⁰ The latest edition of PON was published by Aleksandr Mihailovich Scherbak in 1959.¹¹ The topic of the doctoral dissertation of the author of this paper, which was defended in November 2016, is the philological and linguistic analysis of PON.¹² The cited translations of the textual parts from PON are the author's translations.

The Oghuz-tradition has several Muslim versions, which have overlapping plots with PON. These are: 1) The *Oyuz-nāmā* in the Persian historiographer Rašīd al-Dīn's work *Jāmī al-Tawāriḥ* compiled in 1310-1311, in Persian,¹³ 2) The *Oyuz-nāmā* in the Ottoman historiographer Ali Yazījizādā's work *Tevāriḥ-i Āl-i Selçuk*¹⁴ written in 1423 in Ottoman Turkic, 3) The so-called *Oyuz-nāmā* of Uzunköprü whose dating and the location of recording is unknown; probably it was written in the 15th century in Ottoman-Turkic,¹⁵ 4) The *Oyuz-nāmās* in the Khivan Khan Abu'l-Ġāzī Bahadur's historical works *Şājārā-i Tārākīmā*,¹⁶ compiled in 1661 and *Şājārā-i Türk*¹⁷ in 1665. Both works were written in Turkī (Chagatay) literary language. The latter was finished by order of the khan's son because of the khan's death. The text of these two *Oyuz-nāmās* differs in several details, but their plot is practically identical.

The Oghuz-tradition narrates the life, deeds, and conquests of the Turks' mythical hero, Oghuz Kaghan, and his sons. While the mythic background of the version in Uyghur script shows totemistic features, the Muslim group of *Oyuz-nāmās* can trace back the protagonist's genealogy to Yafeth.

Concisely, the mythic background of PON is that Oghuz grew up quickly after his birth. In those times, there was a creature in a great forest who op-

⁶ W. Radloff, *Das Kudatku Bilik von Jusuf Chass-Hadschib aus Balasagun*. St. Petersburg 1891, x-xiii.

⁷ R. Nour, *Oughuz-namè, èpopée turque*. Alexandrie 1928.

⁸ P. Pelliot, "Sur la légende d'Uğuz-Khan en écriture ouïgoure," *T'oung Pao* 27 (1930), 247-358; its Turkish translation: P. Pelliot, *Uygur yazısıyla yazılmış Uğuz Han Destanı üzerine*, Çev. V. Köken. Ankara 1995.

⁹ W. Bang – R. R. Arat, *Die Legende von Oghuz Qaghan*. Berlin 1932.

¹⁰ W. Bang – R. R. Arat, *Oğuz Kağan Destanı*. İstanbul 1936.

¹¹ A. M. Ščerbak, *Oguz-nāme; Muḥabbat-nāme*. Moskva 1959.

¹² B. Danka, *The 'Pre-Islamic' Oğuz-nāmā. A philological and linguistic analysis*. Szeged 2016 (manuscript).

¹³ K. Jahn, *Die Geschichte der Oğuzen des Rašīd ad-Dīn*. Wien 1969.

¹⁴ A. Bakır, "Tevāriḥ-i Āl-i Selçuk Oğuz-nāme'si," *Turkish Studies* 3/7 (2008), 163-199.

¹⁵ K. Eraslan, "Manzūm Oğuznāme," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 18 (1976), 169-244.

¹⁶ Z. Kargı Ölmez, *Ebulgazi Bahadur Han: Şeçere-i Terākime (Türkmenlerin Soykütüğü)*. Ankara 1996.

¹⁷ *Historie des Mongols et des Tatares par Aboul Ghâzi Bêhâdour Khân*. Ed. par Ivanovič, Petr Desmaisons. Amsterdam 1970².

pressed the people. Oghuz hunted it down. He acquired two wives. The first descended in a beam of light from the sky; the second was found by him in a hollow tree. His first wife gave birth to his elder sons Sun, Moon, and Star (*kün, ay, yultuz*); his second wife gave birth to his younger sons Sky, Mountain, and Sea (*kök, tay, täñiz*). The names of the elder sons reflect the macrocosmos, while the names of the younger sons mirror the microcosmos. Thus, PON connects the cosmic order to Oghuz Kaghan.¹⁸ Oghuz Kaghan, after the birth of his sons, organised a great celebration, where he appointed the distinctive features of his clan, that is, their *tamya* (property tag) and *uran* (parole, warcry).¹⁹ Finally, he announced himself as the ruler of the world. From this point on, the text narrates events that correspond to real historical events in a certain way.

The Muslim Oğuz-nāmās have overlapping plots with PON, but instead of the mythic background, they include the Muslim legitimisation which is concisely the following: 1) The progeny of Oghuz is traced back to Noah's third son, Yafeth, 2) Oghuz was born as a Muslim, and he visited his mother in her dreams, asking her to convert to Islam, otherwise he would not accept his mother's milk, 3) Oghuz asked his three wives to convert to Islam. Only the third, the youngest one, did it and Oghuz loved only her, 4) Oghuz waged war against his father, because he himself did not follow his father's old faith.

Based on the further comparison of the plot of PON and that of the Muslim Oğuz-nāmās, the plot of PON can be divided to five parts: 1) The mythic background detailed above (1/1–10/7, ~10 pages),²⁰ 2) Those unique features (10/8–23/4, ~12,5 pages), which are not present in any of the Muslim versions as detailed in PON, 3) The stories of the allied Turkic tribes and clans (23/4–32/9, ~9,5 pages), which are present in all the Oğuz-nāmā versions, but differ in details from PON, 4) The stories of conquests that are not narrated in detail in PON, contrary to the Muslim versions (32/9–35/4, ~2 pages), 5) The dividing of Oghuz's empire (35/4–42/7, ~8 pages), which is present in all versions except the Uzunköprü one, but they differ in detail in all the versions.

The comparison of the plot of the Oğuz-nāmās' different versions allows the conclusion to be drawn that the Oghuz-tradition is based on an oral tradition, and the written versions are projections of a dynamically developing system.

¹⁸ For a more detailed religious background of PON, see B. Danka, "Az ősi hitvilág nyomai. Szemelvények a „pogány” Oğuz-náméból." [Traces of the ancient belief. Selections from the 'Pagan' Oğuz-nāmā] In: *A török népek vallásai. Filológiai tanulmányok a török vallásos szövegek köréből*, (Altajisztikai tankönyvtár, 4.) ed. M. Biacsi, M. Ivanics, Szeged 2014, 49–68; B. Danka, "About the Historical and Religious Context of the 'Pre-Islamic' Oğuz-nāmā," In: *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on the Role of Religions in the Turkic Culture Held on September 9–11, 2015 in Budapest*, ed. M. Ivanics, É. Csáki, Zs. Olach, Budapest 2016, 257–267.

¹⁹ Danka, *Az ősi hitvilág*, note 61/21.

²⁰ The numbers in the paranthesis are 'from until' data, the number before the "/" refers to the page number of the manuscript, the number after the "/" refers to the number of the line on the given page.

The aim of the present examination is to outline an “epic geography” based on the proper names found in PON. These proper names can be divided into two groups: 1) The names of people who occur in the narration; these names are the personalisations of historical ethnic or political groups or states that have played a role in the history of the Turks, 2) Geographical names. I will show when and where these historical entities occurred in the history of the Turks, so that we may draw a picture of how they have been built into the epic tradition represented by PON, and in a broader sense, into the collective memory of the Turks. The locus of these events will be put on a map, and an attempt will be made to divide the plot of PON into historical layers. Therefore, the picture that depicts the dynamics of the plot development and of the overlayering of the motifs found in PON will be drawn.

We can evaluate the following data in the mythic background of PON:

(1) 1/8 That child drank the colostrum (*oyuz*) from his mother’s milk and after this he did not drink any more.

Although the narration does not express it explicitly, this seems to be the interpretation of the name Oghuz, which is connected to the Old Turkic word *ayuz/ayuž* ‘colostrum’²¹ by a folk etymology. The word is spelled with a first-syllable <w> in the text. For interpretations of personal (=ethnic) names with folk etymology, we can find many examples not only in PON, but also in the Muslim versions of the Oghuz-tradition.

The ethnic name Oghuz is well-known in the earliest Turkic sources, namely the Orkhon inscriptions. Their name occurs in the name of the tribal confederation called Tokuz Oghuz ‘nine Oghuz’. Their centre was the northern territory of the II. Türk Kaghanate (682–744),²² which was located more or less in the territory of present day Mongolia. After moving to the Aral Sea and the river Sir Darya,²³ they were called Oghuz. Their western migration can be traced very well in PON.

In the following citation, there are two more interesting details about the persona of Oghuz in the mythic background:

(2) 2/3 His feet were like the feet of an ox (*aḍaqi uḍ aḍaqi teg*), his waists were like a waist of a wolf, his shoulders were like the shoulders of a sable, his chest was like a chest of a bear. The whole of his body was full of hair (*tük tülüklüg erdi*).

According to the Chinese sources about the early history of the Turks, the Turks were divided into several ethnically identical or similar groups. One of

²¹ G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford 1972, 98.

²² I. Vásáry, *Geschichte des frühen Innerasiens*. Herne 1999, 81–82.

²³ P. B. Golden, “The Peoples of the South Russian Steppes.” In: *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*. ed. D. Sinor, Cambridge 1994², 256–284.

these was the forest-dweller 'ox-footed' (*uδ haδaqlīy*) Turks.²⁴ These people might have lived at the rivers Ural and Tobol.²⁵

Another characteristic of the young Oghuz is that his whole body is fully covered by hair. There is an interesting parallel with the persona of the Muslim Sūfī Saint, Baba Tükles who, according to the legend, converted Özbek Khan (1312-1342), ruler of the Golden Horde, to Islam. One of the main characteristics of Baba Tükles was that his body was covered by hair.²⁶

Scherbak connected the name of the mythic monster defeated by Oghuz Kaghan with the ethnic name Kiyad²⁷. Chinggis Khan descended from the Borjigin branch of the Kiyad clan. As another interpretation, one must consider also Khitan, an Old Mongolic-speaking group, who conquered North China and ruled it under the dynastic name Liao between 907 and 1125.²⁸ The identification is problematic, as the spelling of the words denoting this creature refers to at least two different words. Their instances and their approximate spellings can be divided into the following groups:

(3) Group 1: 3/4 <čyd>; 3/8 <čynd> or <čy'd>; 4/5 <kyynd>; 6/3 <kyynd> or <kyñnd>

Group 2: 4/9 <d'n'w> or <d'nnw>; 5/1 <d'nñk>; 5/3 <d'nñw>, 5/5 <[č]dñnk> or <[č]dññk>; 6/1 <[n]dyñnk> or <ñdyññk>.

In instances 5/5 and 6/1, the letters given between the brackets "[]" could be secondary additions to the manuscript. Figure 1 presents the words in order of their occurrence.

²⁴ D. Sinor, "The Establishment and Dissolution of the Türk Empire." In: *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, ed. D. Sinor, Cambridge 1994² 285–313.

²⁵ T. Senga, "A T'ung-tien híradásai a közép-eurázsiai népekről," [The reports of the T'ung-tien about the peoples of Middle-Eurasia] In: *A honfoglaláskor írott forrásai*. (A honfoglalásról sok szemmel, 2.) [Written sources about the age of conquest of the Carpathian Basin. (Multiply views about the age of conquest 2.)] ed. L. Kovács, L. Veszprémy, Budapest 1996, 35–48.

²⁶ D. DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde – Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition*. Pennsylvania 1994, 330–331; Cs. Göncöl, "'Abdu'l Ġaffār a kalmükek vallásáról," ['Abdu'l Ġaffār on the religion of the Kalmucks] *Keletkutatás* 2016 ősz, 75–92.

²⁷ Ščerbak, *Oguz-nāme*, 68.

²⁸ Vásáry, *A régi Belső-Ázsia*, 112; *Innersiens*, 105.

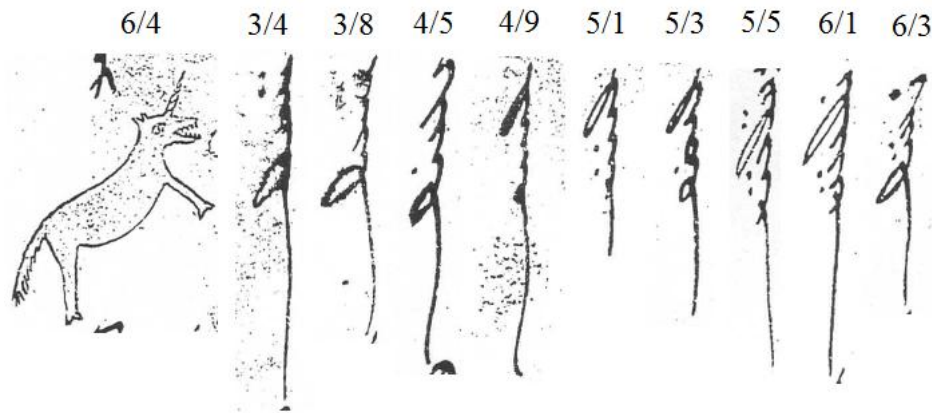


Figure 1. The picture depicting the mythic monster and its denominations

The reconstruction of Kitan or Kiyad may be considered only in the case of Group 1; however, even these written forms are deteriorating, as if the scribe had not known the word that he wrote down. In the earlier editions of PON mentioned above, these words were translated as 'unicorn' or 'rhinoceros' based on the picture.

The second part contains unique features of PON. After the birth of his sons, Oghuz Kaghan organises a celebration and he sends a message with his envoys to the four cardinal points of the world:

(4) 12/6 In that message it was written that 'I am the kaghan of the Uyghur (*uyyur*), who (thus) should be the kaghan of the four corners of the world. (From now on,) I expect obeisance (lit. bowing of head) from you.'

The name Uyghur occurring in the message refers to the era of the Uyghur Kaghanate, which existed in 744–840, in the territory of present-day Mongolia. The leading tribe of the Tokuz Oghuz tribal confederation was the Uyghur. Their kaghans considered themselves as all-powerful rulers of the world. They expected a ritual of respect from their subjects as well as from foreigners.²⁹ This attitude is mirrored in the above citation. The narration moves forward smoothly but there is a leap in real historical space and time:

(5) 13/8 Then at this time on the right side, there was a kaghan named Golden Kaghan (*altun qayan*). [...] 14/7 On the left, there was a kaghan named Urum (*urum*).

This establishment of position locates the starting point of the plot in Central Asia. We find northern orientation here, as opposed to the eastern orientation of the Orkhon Inscriptions, so 'right side' means eastern, while 'left side'

²⁹ C. Mackerras, "The Uighurs," In: *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, ed. D. Sinor, Cambridge 1994² 317–342.

means western direction. Golden Kaghan submits to Oghuz Kaghan and pays tribute to him:

(6) 13/9 This Golden Kaghan (*altun qayan*) sent an envoy to Oghuz Kaghan [...] 14/5 He heeded his words, and with his good tax he made friendship, and became peaceful with him.

The meaning of the Turkic word *altun* is 'gold', which is the Turkic translation of the dynastic name (Chinese *kin*, Mongolic *altan*) of the Jurchen, who overthrew the Liao dynasty and ruled North China in 1115–1234. The Secret History of the Mongols (§ 248.) narrates the submission of Altan Khan to Chinggis Khan (1214) in a very similar way as it is narrated in PON.³⁰ Thus, PON places Oghuz Kaghan in the role of Chinggis Khan. Urum Kaghan, who rules in the West, resists Oghuz's order, so Oghuz launches a war against him:

(7) 15/1 This Urum Kaghan did not heed Oghuz Kaghan's order. [...] 15/5 Oghuz Kaghan got angry, and wanted to ride against him.

Urum Kaghan's name is the Turkic correspondent of the name *Rūm* occurring in the Muslim sources, which is the Arabic name of the Byzantine Empire (5th century–1453)³¹. The following citation shows the route of Oghuz's campaign:

(8) 15/7 After forty days, he arrived at the feet of a mountain named Ice Mountain (*muz tay*). [...] 17/9 After a few days [...] 18/3 Oghuz also stopped with the army. There was a mass of water here, named Etil (*etil*) river.

There are two geographical names in the citation. The first one is *muz tay*, 'Ice Mountain'. This name is frequently used to name high mountains in Turkic. In the range of the Kunlun, there are at least two mountain chains with this name. As we will see later in connection with the Karluk, the Ice Mountain mentioned here is located in the western range of the Kunlun, near the eastern border of present-day Tajikistan. According to the narration, Oghuz arrives in a few days from these mountains to the river Etil. The name Etil is used in the Turkic languages to mean the Volga and its side-rivers, the Belaya and Kama (*aq etil* 'White Etil, White River'), as well as the river Don. Among the modern Turkic languages, it is mostly found in the Kipchak languages. In Volga-Kipchak (Tatar and Bashkir), the word *etil* has the generic meaning of river, which is secondary to the meaning of the proper name.³² The battle between Oghuz and Urum is fought on the bank of the Etil:

³⁰ *The Secret History of the Mongols. A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century* I-II. (Inner Asian Library 7.), ed. I. de Rachewiltz, Leiden–Boston 2006², 176.

³¹ I. Zimonyi, *The Origins of the Volga Bulgars*. Szeged 1990, 167–168.

³² L. Ligeti, *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai a honfoglalás előtt és az Árpád-korban*. [Turkic contacts of the Hungarian language before the conquest of the Carpathian Basin and the Árpád-era] Budapest 1986, 478–480; A. Róna-Tas-†Á. Berta, *West Old Turkic – Turkic Loanwords in Hungarian I-II*. Wiesbaden 2011, 345–347.

(9) 18/5 At the bank of the river Etil, in the vicinity of a black mountain, a battle was fought (lit. a fight was held). [...] 19/5 Oghuz Kaghan attacked, Urum Kaghan fled. Oghuz Kaghan took the kaghanate of Urum Kaghan [as well as] he took his people.

There is a historical contradiction in the cited part. The battle near the Volga locates the events in the South Russian steppe, to where the Oghuz tribes moved under the pressure of the Kipchak in the end of the 10th century. This group of the Oghuz entered the Byzantine Empire accross the Danube on its northern border in the 1060s, fleeing from the Cumans.³³ The text indicates, however, that Oghuz takes Urum's empire and people. In this form, we can hardly talk about fleeing; it is clearly a conquest. This might refer to the conquest of East Anatolia by the Seljuks after the battle at Manzikert (Malazgirt) in 1071.³⁴ Therefore, it seems that in the part cited in (9), we see a fusion of memories that are nearly contemporary but happened in different places. After this, PON goes on with the history of the conquest of the South Russian steppe:

(10) 20/1 Urum Kaghan had a brother. He was called Urus Beg (*urus beg*). That Urus Beg sent his son to a good, well-fortified town (being located) on the top of a mountain in the middle of deep river. [...] 20/8 Oghuz Kaghan rode against that town. Urus Beg's son sent him a lot of gold and silver. [...] 22/6 (Urus Beg's son:) 'I (hereby) give my head and my regal charisma for you. Paying tribute, (I) will (never) quit from friendship!' [...] 23/1 (Oghuz:) 'You have sent me a lot of gold, you have defended the town well (*baluqni' yaqši saqlap sän*).' Because of that, (Oghuz) named him Saqlap (*saqlap*) and made friendship (with him).

The name Urus is the Turkic correspondent of the Rus, which was a loose confederation of Eastern Slavic principalities that existed between 882 and 1240. It was conquered by the Mongols. In the second half of the 11th century, the Oghuz and the Rus fought several wars against each other.³⁵ We must also take into account the fact that there was another Urus Khan, who ruled the Golden Horde's territories East of the Volga. He ruled the Blue Horde (*kök orda*, the eastern wing of the Golden Horde) from 1361, and between 1374 and 1377, he held Saray, the centre of the Golden Horde.³⁶

The name Saqlap corresponds to the Arabic word *ṣaḳālība* (singular *ṣaḳlabī/ṣiklabī*), which derives from the Middle-Greek word Σάβρος. The Greek word is connected to the self-designaton of the Slavs (*Slověne, Slovyane*). The ethnic

³³ Golden, *The Peoples*, 275–277.

³⁴ Y. Bregel, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia*. Leiden–Boston 2003, 28.

³⁵ *The Russian Primary Chronicle – Laurentian Text* ed., transl. S. H. Cross, O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor. Cambridge–Massachusetts 2012, 143, 168, 202, 213.

³⁶ Bregel, *An Historical*, 41.

name had developed a meaning: 'slave'.³⁷ The name is present in the Muslim geographical sources from the 9th century onwards, but its denotation is not always clear. The name could mean the Slavs, the (presumably Finno-Ugric speaking) forest-dwelling peoples of Eastern Europe, or the Volga Bulgars. Later on, it became the generic geographical name of the huge territory between the Elba and Sir-Darya, from where the slaves were brought.³⁸ The name Saqlap is interpreted in PON through folk etymology, derived from the verb *saqla-* 'to watch over, guard, protect'³⁹ with the converb-suffix *-p*.

We arrive at the third main part of the narration. Oghuz arrives to the river Etil (again) but is not able to cross it with his army. There is a beg named Great Horde (*uluy ordu*) among the soldiers, who makes rafts with which they can cross the river. For his performance, he is granted the name Kipchak (*qipčaq*):

(11) 23/4 Then with the army [Oghuz Kaghan] passed to the river named Etil. [...] 23/6 Oghuz Kaghan saw that. Then he asked: 'Through the water of the Etil, how are we going to pass?' In the army, there was a good *beg*. His name was Great Horde Beg (*uluy ordu beg*) [...] 24/4 He lied on the trees and crossed. Oghuz Kaghan was glad and laughed. Then he told: 'Oh, oh, you shall become a *beg* here, you shall become a *beg* named Kipchak (*qipčaq*)!'

The Kipchak tribal confederation occurred in the 8th century in the Altay region as the subjects of the II. Türk Kaghanate, from where they migrated to the West. In the 9-10th centuries, they fought several wars with the Oghuz, whom they squeezed out of the South Russian steppe, including the Volga region, by the 1070s. After the battle near the river Khalkha in 1223, the Mongols integrated a part of the Kipchak into the Golden Horde, while other Kipchak groups fled.⁴⁰ The name Kipchak is originally a self-designated term, but its etymology is unclear.⁴¹ The manuscript of PON is also damaged at the relevant part, but it can be assumed that it has again been interpreted by folk etymology. The name *qipčaq* is probably understood as the nominal derivation of the verb *qap-* 'to grasp or seize with the hands'⁴² or **qaβ-* with the approximate meaning 'to hold together, to collect, to assemble';⁴³ thus, *qipčaq* might mean 'one who puts (the branches) together', namely, makes rafts.

³⁷ P. B. Golden, "Al-Sakāliba," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. VIII, ed. C. E. Bosworth *et al.* Leiden 1995², 872–878.

³⁸ I. Zimonyi, *The Origins of the Volga Bulgars*. 1990, 70–75, 91–92, 107, 125, 134, 150, 167.

³⁹ Clauson, *An Etymological*, 810.

⁴⁰ Golden, *The Peoples*, 277–284.

⁴¹ Sz. Kovács, *A kunok története a mongol hódításig*. [The history of the Cumans until the Mongol conquest] (Magyar Őstörténeti Könyvtár 29.) Budapest 2014, 13–17.

⁴² Clauson, *An Etymological*, 580.

⁴³ The verbal stem **qaβ-* could not be dated even in the earliest Old Turkic monuments; however, its causative (*qaβir-*) and cooperative (*qaβiš-*) derivations are present. See: Clauson, *An Etymological*, 580, 585 and 588 respectively.

The original name of the *beg* who was named Kipchak by Oghuz Kaghan was Great Horde (*uluy ordu*), which is very interesting. The term Great Horde was used for the central territories of the dissolving Golden Horde, and was located in the lower Volga region. The centre of it was on the western bank of the Volga; it reached until the river Dnyeper in the West and the river Kuban in the East.⁴⁴ The name Great Horde, in accordance with PON's text, points to the lower Volga region, but at a much later point than the golden age of the Kipchak. The Great Horde was founded by the Chinggisid Kiči-Muḥammad in 1433. Under the rule of his successor Aḥmad (1466-1482), it formally subjugated the Rus for a short time (cf. example (10)), but after his death, the Great Horde dissolved and was destroyed by the Crimean and Russian armies in 1502.⁴⁵

Moving forward in the narration, we learn that the favourite horse of Oghuz goes astray and goes to the Ice Mountain mentioned in example (8). There is a *beg* in Oghuz Kaghan's army who brings the horse back and he obtains the name Karluk, here interpreted as 'snowy' (*qārliḡ*), which is the derivation of *qār* 'snow'. Thus, the story gives an explanation of the establishment of the Karluk tribal confederation.

(12) 27/1 In the army, there was a great tempered man [...] 27/7 After nine days, he brought the stallion to Oghuz Kaghan. Because it was very cold in the Ice Mountains, that *beg* was covered by snow, he was pure white. Oghuz Kaghan laughed with joy. He told: 'Oh, you shall become the leader for the *begs* here! (For) I am happy, thy name shall be Snowy/Karluk (*qārliḡ*)!'

The Karluk were present in western Turkestan from the 8th century as part as the Western Türk state.⁴⁶ They founded the Karakhanid dynasty, the first Muslim dynasty of the Turks, in the 9th century. The Karakhanids lived under the authority of the Karakitays from 1130.⁴⁷ The Ice Mountain (*muz tay*) mentioned in example (8) is located south of the southern border of the Karakhanid state.⁴⁸ The narration continues as follows:

(13) 28/5 Then on the road he saw a big house. The walls of this house were made of gold. Its windows were of silver, its shutters were of iron. It was closed, and there was no key. In the army there was a good, clever man. He was named as Tömürtü Kaghul (*tömürtü qayul*). To him, he ordered: 'You, stay (here) and open (*qal aç*) the shutters! After you opened it, come to the warcamp!' Thus, he gave him the name Khalaj (*qalač*).

⁴⁴ A. J. Frank, "The Western Steppe: Volga-Ural Region, Siberia and Crimea." In: *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia. The Chinggisid Age*, ed. N. di Cosmo, A. J. Frank, P. B. Golden Cambridge 2009, 237–259.

⁴⁵ P.B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*. Wiesbaden 1992, 323.

⁴⁶ Sinor, *The Establishment*, 309.

⁴⁷ Vásáry, *A régi Belső-Ázsia*, 111.

⁴⁸ Bregel, *An Historical*, 29.

The original name of the soldier, Tömürtü Kaghul, does not tell us much from the view of our present examination. It looks like an evocative name, which is an adjectival phrase: in Mongolian *tömürtü* (cf. Written Mongolian *temürliḡ* 'ferrous, metallic'⁴⁹) and in Turkic *qayul* 'stick, rod' (cf. Old Turkic *qayıl* 'willow shoot'⁵⁰). The meaning of the phrase might be 'metal rod', hence 'crowbar', which might refer to the skill of the soldier. Thus, the name could be connected to the memory of the traditional profession of the Türks, namely smithcraft, which they practiced within the Juan-Juan Empire (end of 4th century–552).⁵¹

The given name of the soldier Khalaj tells us more. The original name of the ethnic group, which is now called Khalaj in South Iran, was Arghu, and they were named after that Oghuz tribe Xalač ~ Khalaj, who is presumably mentioned by PON here.⁵² The Khalaj moved to the territory of Tokharistan (present day Northeast Afghanistan and partly Tajikistan) in the 7th century,⁵³ and there were Khalaj elements showing in the Oghuz tribal confederation even in the 9th century.⁵⁴

The name Khalaj is interpreted in PON by the imperative forms of the verbs *qal-* 'to remain' and *ač-* 'to open'⁵⁵: *qal! ač!* 'Stay (here and) open (it)!'

The house (or tent) with the golden wall and silver windows (or smoke-hole) might refer to the centre of the kaghan's power. In Karabalgasun, the centre of the Uyghur Kaghhanate, the kaghan's tent was made of gold; it was so famous that it was considered to be the centre of Uyghur power. The leader of the Kirghiz threatened the Uyghur kaghan as follows: 'Your fate is sealed, for I shall certainly seize your golden tent'.⁵⁶ On the other hand, it is not clear why Oghuz, already kaghan, would have a house opened, which symbolizes the power of the kaghan.

In the next part, we meet the Jurchen again (cf. examples (5) and (6)), but this time their ethnic and not dynastic name is mentioned. According to the narration, they live on a flat land, which is rich in game. Oghuz fights against them and wins but he cannot carry the booty away. There is a man in his army who makes carts upon which they can load the booty. The soldier is given the name Kangli (*qanq²luy*) for his invention.

(14) 29/8 It was an uncultivated, flat land. They have ever called this Jurched (*jürčäd*) [...] 30/3 Here, the Jurched Kaghhan and people came against Oghuz Kaghhan. A fight started. [...] 30/6 Oghuz Kaghhan attacked,

⁴⁹ F. D. Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1960, 800.

⁵⁰ Clauson, *An Etymological*, 610.

⁵¹ Sinor, *The Establishment*, 295–297, 313.

⁵² G. Doerfer, "Turkic Languages of Iran," In: *The Turkic Languages*, ed. L. Johanson, É. Á. Csató London-New York 1998, 277.

⁵³ Bregel, *An Historical*, 16.

⁵⁴ Golden, *An Introduction*, 207.

⁵⁵ Clauson, *An Etymological*, 18, 615.

⁵⁶ Mackerras, *The Uighurs*, 339.

he crushed Jurchen Kaghan and killed him. He cut off his head. [...] 30/9 Oghuz Kaghan's army, bodyguards and people gained so much inanimate goods that an insufficiency of beasts of burden (lit. horse, mule, ox) turned out to load (the goods) on and carry it away. There in Oghuz Kaghan's army, there was an intelligent, good, clever man, his name was Barmaklig Josun Bellig (*barmaqlıy josun bellig*). This clever (man) built a cart (*qanq⁹*). [...] 31/9 They dragged it and went away. [...] 32/5 Oghuz Kaghan saw the carts and laughed. Then he told: 'Let the living make the lifeless walk with the carts! You with the cart (*qanq⁹luy*), a name is to be for you, let the cart manifest it!'

The name Jurchen seems to designate a different entity than Golden Khagan. According to the text, Jurchen is simultaneously a geographical, ethnic, and personal name. It is strange that, while Golden Khagan appears as a diplomat who pays tribute, the Jurchen are warlike steppe people. Before the founding of the Jin dynasty, the Jurchen were the subjects of the Liao, who were differentiated between two groups. While the so-called civilized Jurchen were occupied with agriculture and cattle-breeding, the savage Jurchen led a different life-style, living on flat lands and in forests. The forest Jurchen paid tax to the Kitan court, while those living on the seashore paid tax to the Sung dynasty.⁵⁷ The context (uncultivated flat land) could refer to the savage Jurchen.

The Secret History of the Mongols (§. 253) mentions the conquest of the Jurchen again after Altan Khan's submission. The campaign is led by Qasar on Chinggis' order: 'Qasar brought the city of Beiging into subjection, forced Vujanu of the Jürčēt to submit and subjugated the towns which were on the way there.'⁵⁸ This parallelism, however, is not so direct as Golden Khagan's submission, and differs in the important detail that Oghuz kills the Jurchen Kaghan, while Qasar only subjugates them.

The name of the cart maker, *barmaqlıy josun bellig*, is hard to interpret as the phrase is not completely transparent grammatically. Its approximate meaning is '[the man] who knows the method of wheelarm' or '[the man] who knows crafty methods': *barmaq* 'Finger, Speiche eines Rades'⁵⁹ *josun* ~ Written Mongolian *yosun* 'principle, method'⁶⁰ *bellig* 'bekannt, sicher, offenbar'⁶¹. Similar to the above-mentioned name *tömürtü qayul*, it might refer to the skill of the man wielding it.

The given name *qanq⁹luy* corresponds to the historical tribal name, Kangli. We also find another folk etymological interpretation in this name giving.

⁵⁷ H. Franke, "The Forest Peoples of Manchuria: Kitans and Jurchens," In: *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, ed. D. Sinor, Cambridge 1994², 237–259.

⁵⁸ de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History*, 181.

⁵⁹ J. Th. Zenker, *Dictionnaire Turc-Arabe-Persan*. Leipzig 1866, 192a.

⁶⁰ Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, 435.

⁶¹ Zenker, *Dictionnaire Turc-Arabe-Persan*, 208b

qanq^o is the name of the cart upon which they carry the booty away. The name, according to the text (not cited here), originates from the rattling sound that is made by the cart while moving; this is described by the onomatopoeic word, *qanq^o*. The name *qanq^oluy* is derived from the name of the cart: 'one who has a cart (*qanq^o*)'. The Kangli belonged to the Kipchak tribal confederation⁶²; their dwelling place was east of the Aral Sea and the region to the east of it, from the 11-12th centuries until the Mongolian invasion.⁶³

In the fourth main part of PON, the conquests of India, Syria, and the Tangut Empire are mentioned:

(15) 32/9 After that with this grey furred, grey maned male wolf, he rode out and went until the borders of India (*sindu*), Tangut (*tanqut*), and Syria (*šām*). After a lot of fights and battles, he took them and united them into his own country.

PON describes very few details about the conquests of these territories. The historical correspondents of these might be found in the following. From 977, the Ghaznevids led raiding campaigns to India with the lead of Sebük Tegin, who was of Karluk origin.⁶⁴ His son Mahmūd also led 17 such raids and annexed the provinces of Panjab and Sindh.⁶⁵ Similar raids also happened in the 12th century⁶⁶. The Chagadaid khan Du'a launched several invasions against India, and besieged Delhi in 1303 and 1305, and smaller-scale raids continued in the following years.⁶⁷ Timur also led armies against North India in 1398–1399.⁶⁸

The Tanguts lived in the region of Ordos and Ala-shan from the 8th century; they had had a state since 990. They played an important role in the lives of the surrounding states (China, Tibet, and Turkestan) in the first half of the 11th century. The Tangut state was overthrown by the Mongols in 1227.⁶⁹ The text of PON certainly registers this event. The Oghuz Seljuks conquered Syria after the battle of Manzikert (1071) together with East Anatolia.⁷⁰

We can read the following about the conquest of Egypt in PON:

(16) 33/6 It should not be left out, it should be known, that in the southern corner (of the world) there is a place named Barak (*baraq^o*). [...] 34/4 The kaghan of that place was a kaghan named Egypt (*mīšīr*). Oghuz Kaghan rode against him. It became a chaotic and terrible fight. Oghuz Kaghan at-

⁶² Ligeti, *A magyar nyelv*, 405.

⁶³ Bregel, *An Historical*, 27, 31.

⁶⁴ Bregel, *An Historical*, 22.

⁶⁵ Bregel, *An Historical*, 26.

⁶⁶ Bregel, *An Historical*, 32.

⁶⁷ M. Biran, "The Ögödeid and Chagadaid realms." In: *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia. The Chinggisid Age*, ed. N. di Cosmo, A. J. Frank, P. B. Golden, Cambridge 2009, 46-66: 54.

⁶⁸ Bregel, *An Historical*, 43.

⁶⁹ Vásáry, *Innerasiens*, 114-115.

⁷⁰ Bregel, *An Historical*, 28.

tacked, Egypt Kaghan fled. Oghuz crushed him, he took his country, and went away.

The mention of Barak as a geographical name here is very interesting. In the Muslim *Oyuz-nāmās* the story of Barak, land of darkness, constitutes an independent episode,⁷¹ while here they are obviously mixed up. This study will rather not attempt the historical interpretation of the name Barak, as the mention of Egypt provides the necessary amount of information.

The endeavour of the Seljuks to conquer Egypt was obstructed by the Byzantine emperor, Romanos Diogenes IV (1068–1071). The conflict became consummated in the battle of Manzikert but, in the end, the Seljuks did not conquer Egypt.⁷² The mention of Egypt, thus, can refer to the later Mamlūk state, which lasted from the second half of the 13th century until the first quarter of the 16th century. Its leading elite was a group of Kipchak Turks who were originally military slaves.

We arrive at the last part of PON, which narrates how Oghuz divided his empire among his sons. We learn that Oghuz's counsellor was a man named Great Türk (*uluy türük*).

(17) 35/4 It should not be left out, it should be known that next to Oghuz Kaghan there was a white bearded, grey haired, sharp minded (lit. long minded) old man. He was a wise and well-behaved man, a seer (*tüšimāl*). His name was Great Türk (*uluy türük*).

The meaning of the name of the man is 'Great Türk'. Türk was used as an ethnic name for the leading elite of the I. and II. Türk Kaghanates (552–659 and 687–744, respectively). The description of the persona of Great Türk reminds the reader of Bilge Tonyukuk⁷³, who helped Elterish Kaghan during the foundation of the II. Türk Kaghanate.

According to the narration, Great Türk saw a dream, which he explained Oghuz, who sent his sons out for hunting. The elder sons found a golden bow; the younger ones found a silver arrow. This determined the later hierarchy between them.

(18) 38/6 Sun, Moon, and Star, after they hunted down many games and birds, found a golden bow on the way, they took it, and gave it to their father. Oghuz Kaghan [was glad, laughed, and] he broke the bow into three pieces. [Then he said: 'Oh, elder sons,] The bow shall be yours! Like the bow, you shall shoot the arrows up to the sky!' – he said. [...] 40/9 On the right side, he erected a pole of forty fathoms. Onto its top, he put a golden hen. To its neath, he tied a white sheep [...] 41/7 The Broken (*buzuqlar*) sat on the right side.

⁷¹ Cf. Jahn, *Die Geschichte*, 24–26, 43; Bakır, *Tevāriḥ-i Āl-i Selçuk*, 183; Kargı Ölmez, *Ebulgazi Bahadur Han* 133, 137.

⁷² Golden, *An Introduction*, 221.

⁷³ Cf. Sinor, *The Establishment*, 312–313.

(19) 39/5 Then after that Sky, Mountain and Sea, after they hunted down many games and many birds, found three silver arrows on the way. They took it, and they gave it to their father. Oghuz Kaghan was glad, laughed, and he distributed the arrows among the three of them. So he said: 'Oh younger sons, the arrows shall be yours! The bow shot the arrows, you shall become (like) the arrows!' – he said. [...] 41/3 On the left side, he erected a(nother) pole of forty fathoms. Onto its top, he put a silver hen. To its base, he tied a black sheep. [...] 41/8 the Three Arrows (*üč oqlar*) sat on the left side.

In these two parallel sections, the occurrence of the white and the black sheep is very important. The names Broken (*buzuqlar*) and Three arrows (*üč oqlar*) do not show up in the sources earlier than the Oghuz-tradition. The name *buzuq* has a later parallel in the Ottoman Empire: there was a *sanjak*, later a *vilayet*, which was named Bozok. The white and the black sheep (*aq qoyun*, *qara qoyun*), on the other hand, are known to be the names of political formations. Two East Anatolian tribal confederation of the Turkmens, the Akkoyunlu and the Karakoyunlu were named after them; they migrated into East Anatolia in the Mongol era.⁷⁴ The centre of the Karakoyunlu was Arjish, which was northeast of Lake Van. Their residence became Tebriz in the 14th century.⁷⁵ The residence of the Akkoyunlu, who were in a constant feud with the Karakoyunlu, was originally Amid, until they took Tebriz from their foes in 1469.⁷⁶

If we review what has been told so far, we can see that PON narrates historical events in a kaleidoscopic mixture, leaping back and forth in time and space, by no means in a chronological order. As we saw in the case of the river Etil and the Ice Mountain, even the narration itself is not linear, but is rather a loose string of episodes. The direct evidence for this is the phrase 'It should not be left out, it should be known...' in examples (16) and (17), which introduces a new unit of the plot. If we survey the structure of the plot thoroughly, it can be seen that the events narrated in the third and fourth main parts can be attached to the second main part; they each elaborate a detail. The Jurchen and Kangli are in connection with them (14) as well as the Tangut (15), who can be connected to Altun Khan (6). The name of the Ice Mountain (8) shows up during the campaign against Urum (7), where the story of the Karluk takes place (12). The river Etil occurs in this part (8), which will later provide the scene for the story of Great Horde/Kipchak. The mention of Syria (15) and perhaps that of Egypt (16) refers to the campaign against Urum. The house or tent occurring in the story of the Kalach (13) might symbolise the residence of the Uyghurs (4).

The following table sums up the historical occurrence of the events and entities in the order that they occur in PON. The serial numbers given do not

⁷⁴ Golden, *An Introduction*, 367.

⁷⁵ Golden, *An Introduction*, 369.

⁷⁶ Golden, *An Introduction*, 371.

correspond to the numbers of the above examples, but they instead refer to the sequence of their occurrence in PON.

The historical correspondences of the proper names occurring in PON

Main part of the plot	From until (length)	Proper name	Era
I. Mythic background	1/1–10/7 (~10 pages)	1. <i>oyuz</i> (= <i>uδ haδaqlıy</i> ~ <i>tük tülüküg</i>)	8. century ?14. century
		2. <i>?qıyat,</i> <i>?qıtan</i>	?1200 / ?907–1125
		(<i>kün, ay, yultuz</i>) (<i>kök, tay, täñiz</i>)	see part V.
II. Unique features of PON	10/8–23/4 (~12,5 pages)	3. <i>uyyur</i>	744–840
		4. <i>altun qayan</i>	1214
		5. <i>urum qayan</i>	11. century
		6. <i>muz tay</i>	
		7. <i>etil</i>	
		8. <i>urus beg</i>	11. century / ?14. century
		9. <i>saqlap</i>	9. century on
III. Allied Turkic tribes	23/4–32/9 (~9,5 pages)	7. <i>etil</i>	11. century / 15. century
		10. <i>uluy ordu beg =</i> <i>qıpçaq beg</i>	
		6. <i>muz tay</i>	11–12. centuries
		11. <i>qārliy beg</i>	
		12. <i>tömürtü qayul =</i> <i>qalač</i>	?4–6. centuries / 7. century
		13. <i>jürčäd qayan</i>	1115–1234
		14. <i>barmaqlıy josun bellig =</i> <i>qanqoluy</i>	11. century
IV. Secondary conquests	32/9–35/3 (~2 pages)	15. <i>sindu</i>	10–12. centuries / ?1303–1305 / ?1398–1399
		16. <i>tañqut</i>	1227
		17. <i>šām</i>	1071
		18. <i>baraq^g ~ misir qayan</i>	1071 / 13–16. centuries
V. Dividing the empire	35/4–42/7 (~8 pages)	19. <i>uluy türük</i>	?7. century
		20. <i>kün, ay, yultuz = buzuq = (aq</i> <i>qoyunlu)</i>	14–15. centuries
		21. <i>köl, tay, täñiz = üç oqlar =</i> <i>(qara qoyunlu)</i>	

In order to make the results more expressive, the above table is depicted in a graph below. The horizontal axis shows the proper names in their order of occurrence, to which I ordered on the vertical axis those centuries in which the name occurred, the given political entity playing an historical role, etc. The points marked with '?' are the possible correspondences to which I referred in the discussion of the individual examples. Thus, the graph shows the historical layering of those political formations and events that became the building stones of PON.

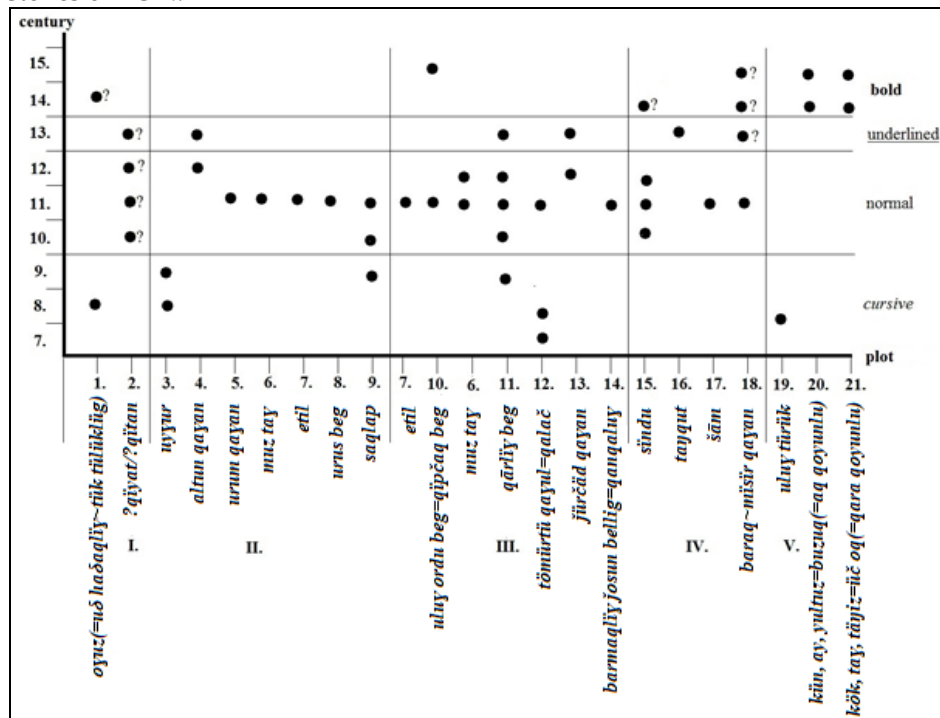


Figure 2. The historical layering of the proper names occurring in PON

I divided the vertical axis of the graph into four temporal layers. The oldest one refers to the 7-9th centuries, the era of the I. and II. Türk Kaghhanates, the Tokuz Oghuz tribal confederation, and the Uyghur Kaghhanate. The second and richest one records the events of the 10-12th centuries, the era of Central Asia before the Mongolian invasion: events connected to the Karakhanid, Ghaznevid, Seljuk Empires occur. Most of the names appearing in PON belong to this layer. This was probably the era when the Oghuz-tradition was formed. There are a few easily recognisable references to the Secret History of the Mongols or to the oral tradition on which the Secret History might be based. Thus, PON shows Mongolian influence. The addition of the youngest layer can be dated to the 14-15th centuries, to the westernmost end of the Turkic world of the era: Eastern Europe and East Anatolia. It is also clear that the order of the narration does not follow the chronology of real historical events.

Oghuz takes the role of the leaders of the Uyghurs, Seljuks, Ghaznevids, and even Chinggis Khan and his descendants. Thus, the whole story preserves the memories of approximately seven or eight centuries.

If the names and the events connected to them are put on a map with regard to their historical layering, we can clearly see the migration of the Oghuz from the East to the West. The numbers are marked with the font type that belongs to their latest sure correspondence, as given in Figure 2 above.

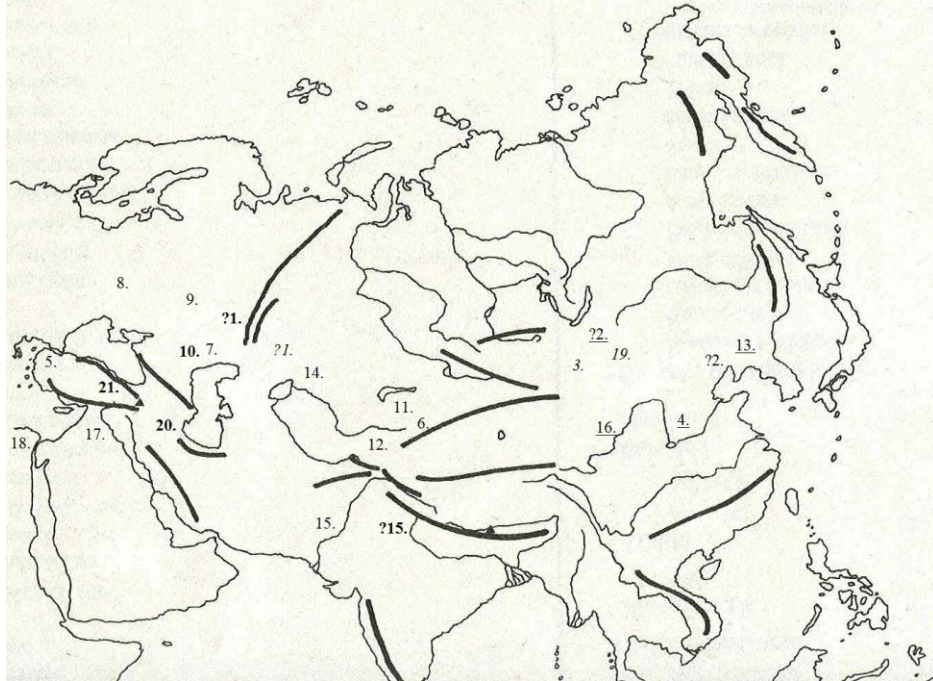


Figure 3. The geographical distribution of the names and events occurring in PON

It is visible that the numbers marked with bold belonging to the latest layer occur strictly in the western part of the map. This statement would remain true even if we placed those points on the map that belong to the latest layer but are marked with '?' (with the only exception of India). In other words, it is true if we consider the possible temporal overlaying of the content of the motifs.

Based on what we have seen so far, we can conclude the following: 1) The Oghuz-tradition gained the form based on which it can be called Oghuz-tradition on its own in the 10-12th centuries. In this area it already preserved the memories of several previous centuries. 2) The plot of the Oghuz-tradition developed through time. On the one hand, the existing elements of the plot might have sunk into oblivion or could have been mixed up with other elements. On the other hand, the plot was extended with new elements, as well as existing elements might have overlayered. These new elements refer to those areas where the recorded events took place. 3) We must find the latest element

in order to date the text. As stated above, the backbone of the plot is provided by the second main part, which is ordained to legitimise the authority above the Eastern European steppe by the defeat of Urum in the battle along the river Etil and with the subjugation of Saqlap. The story of the Kipchak is also connected to the river Volga (*etil*). The original name of Kipchak Beg, Great Horde (*uluy ordu*), could be the result of such an overlaying of the plot. Thus, the terminus post quem time of the emergence of the text can be given with the precision of decades, as the Great Horde existed between 1433 and 1502. PON was written down at that time at the earliest. The population of the Great Horde consisted mainly of Kipchak Turks, which supposes that the youngest temporal layer of PON could have been influenced by the tradition of the Kipchaks (cf. the possible parallel between the personas of Oghuz and Baba Tükles in example (2)). This might explain why there are conquests that are connected to the Mongols in this piece of the Oghuz-tradition. It is known that the Mongol leading elite of the Jochi-ulus became assimilated by their conquered Kipchak-Turkic population by the end of the 13th century,⁷⁷ so their Mongol tradition was built into the plot of PON together with the Kipchak layer.⁷⁸

The dynamics of the overlaying of PON's plot (as a text based on an oral tradition) are very similar to the development of the language. The tradition is developing throughout time. During the mutual interaction of different traditions, they affect and converge towards each other in a similar way to languages do.⁷⁹ The receiver might copy elements from the model, which are then adopted to the receiver's system (Chinggis Khan's conquests in PON belong to this category). Alternatively, certain features of the elements might be copied as selective copies (the addition of the feature of Baba Tükles' persona to that of Oghuz). The pre-requisite of such cultural interaction is the same as that of linguistic interaction: the coexistence of groups with different cultural backgrounds. The interaction can also be traced within the language of PON: Mongolian copies are present in the language of the text as are Kipchak linguistic features.

⁷⁷ I. Vásáry, "The Jochid Realm: the Western Steppe and Eastern Europe." In: *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia. The Chinggisid Age*, ed. N. di Cosmo, A. J. Frank, P. B. Golden, Cambridge 2009, 67–85.

⁷⁸ A similar but not so obvious process is described by K. Uray-Kőhalmi, "Egy eredetmítosz építőkövei (A mongolok titkos története alapján)," [The Constituents of an Origin Myth (as seen in the *Secret History of the Mongols*)] *Keletkutatás*, 2009. ősz, 5–22.

⁷⁹ For the code-copying framework widely applied in Turkic and non-Turkic linguistics to model interaction between different languages with the summary of the earlier literature, see L. Johanson, "Contact-induced linguistic change in a code-copying framework." In: *Language change: The interplay of internal, external and extra-linguistic factors*. (Contributions to the Sociology of Language, 86.), ed. M. C. Jones, E. Esch, Berlin 2002, 285–313, as well as further works by him.

Joseph Deguinges, Georgius Pray, and the Reshaping of the Hungarian National Identity in the Eighteenth Century

MIHÁLY DOBROVITS



To Barnabás Csongor (1923-2018), my master and friend

*Georg Pray, a Jesuit professor (1723-1801), studied the early history of the Hungarians on the basis of the work of Joseph Deguignes, identifying differences among the Huns, Avars, and Hungarians. He made use of the famous work *Gesta Hungarorum* of Master P. (P. dictus magister), or the Hungarian Anonymous, in his work and held the view that Hungarian is a Finno-Ugric language.*

Georgius (Georg/György) Pray SJ (1723-1801) was born in Neusiedel (now Nové Zámky/Ľánskývár) into an officer's family. His parents lived in Preßburg (now Bratislava, traditionally Prešporok/Pozsony), which was then the administrative centre of the Kingdom of Hungary (for the time being, this city is the capital of Slovakia). His family had its roots in the Tirol. He joined the Austro-Hungarian Province of the Jesuit Order (then the only common institution of the countries that later formed the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy) in 1740. He was ordained in 1754. During his student years in Graz, he studied together with the famous astronomer János Sajnovics, who first discovered the Finno-Ugric origin of the Hungarian language, and therefore can be held to be the founding father of Finno-Ugric studies. In 1755, he became a professor of the Theresianum College in Vienna. Under the influence of one of his colleagues, Erasmus Fröhlich († 1758), he began to study the earliest periods of Hungarian history. In 1761, he published his epoch-making work 'The ancient Annals of the Huns, Avars and Hungarians'.¹ followed by two other works².

¹ *Annales veteres Hunnorum, Avarum, et Hungarorum ab anno ante natum Christum CCX ad annum Christi MCXCVII deducti ac maximam partem ex orientis, occidentiosque*

Although the Jesuits, who were the most ardent supporters of Habsburg rule in Hungary, had already carried out a lot of work on the beginnings of Hungarian history,³ one can surmise that Pray's works would not fit into this frame. Before analysing this question, we should look at the work that lies in the background of Pray's works.

It is a well-known fact that Joseph Deguignes (1721-1800), the famous French orientalist, edited his pivotal work *Histoire générale de Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols et des autres Tartares occidentaux* between 1756 and 1758.⁴ We know that this work was obtained and sent to Pray by Ferenc Ribics SJ.⁵ Therefore, Pray could have used this work as a source long before its German translation appeared between 1768 and 1771.⁶ In short, we can state that the books of Pray are abridged paraphrases in Latin of Deguignes' original masterpiece. During his lifetime, the official language of the highest public administration and the language of education in the Kingdom of Hungary proper was Latin. Hungarian was used in public administration only in Transylvania. Pray himself was a *Hungarus* (a member of the feudal society of Hungary) but we must wonder whether he had a good enough command of Hungarian to compose any works in this language. What we are sure about is that he wrote all his works in Latin and sometimes in German, but we have no works that were written and published by him in Hungarian.

Before stepping further into this area, we should take a short look at the political situation of the country that was then called Hungary. When Charles of Lotharingia and Queen Maria Theresia (1740-1780) ascended to the thrones of their countries, namely the Holy Roman Empire and the Hungarian Kingdom respectively, an all-European war broke out. Friedrich II of Prussia declared war on the "usurpers": this was called the "War of the Austrian Succession" (1740-1758). A second war followed this, namely the "Seven Years War" (1756-1763). The young queen understood that the most important sovereign crown

rerum scriptoribus congesti, opera et studio Georgii Pray, Societatis Jesu sacerdotis, Vindobonae MDCCLXI.

² G. Pray, *Epistola responsoria ad diss. apologeticam Josephi Innocentii Desericii ... auctoris commentariorum de initiis ac majoribus Hungarorum*, Tyrnaviae MDCCLXVI; and *Supplementum ad Annales Veteres Hunnorum, Avarum, et Hungarorum congestos*, opera et studio Georgii Pray, Societatis Jesu sacerdotis, Tyrnaviae MDCCLXIV respectively.

³ I. Vásáry, "A jezsuita Cseles Márton és a Julianus-jelentés (A Magna Hungaria és a Jugria-kérdés történetéhez)," [The Jesuit Márton cseles and the report of Julianus] in: *Középkori kútforrások kritikus kérdései*, [Critical problems of Hungarian medieval sources] ed. J. Horváthy, Gy. Székely, Budapest 1974, 261-275.

⁴ J. de Guignes, *Histoire générale des huns, des turcs, des mogols, et des autres tartares occidentaux*. Paris 1756-1758.

⁵ G. Lischerong, *Pray György élete és munkái*. [The life and works of György Pray] Budapest 1937, 42.

⁶ J. de Guignes, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Hunnen und Türken, der Mogols und anderer occidentalischen Tartarn vor und nach Christi Geburt bis auf jetzige Zeiten*. Greifswald 1768-1771.

for her dynasty was the Crown of Saint Stephen, and she began to transform the once forgotten and nearly colonial countries of Saint Stephen's Crown (granted as a hereditary but independent country for the Habsburgs by the *Pragmatica Sanctio* 'Order of Succession' in 1733) into a flourishing backyard for the dynasty. Therefore, she needed to create a settlement with the Hungarian nobility. According to this tradition, the freedom of the Hungarian nobility (and also the Kingdom of Hungary) was not only established by the *Golden Bull* of King Andrew II (which held a real parallel with the *Magna Charta Libertatum* in England), but also by Attila the King of the Huns (a symbolic predecessor of the later rulers of Hungary) and Árpád, the first pagan chieftain of the land taking Hungarians. This tradition had its roots deepened not only in Hungary but all over Europe. Its most famous representative was John of Twroc (in Hungarian, Turóczy János, cca. 1435-1489) who offered the *Chronica Hungarorum* to King Matthias I of Hungary (1458-1490). This work was printed for the first time in Brünn (Brno, 1488) and was considered to be a standard reference book of Hungarian history all over Europe.⁷ Albeit Deguignes referred to it many times; he was the first scholar who drew attention to the falseness of this tradition.

"One might wonder why I did not make use of the Hungarian historians for the intrusion of the Huns under Attila. The Hungarians, who are holding themselves for the descendants of the Huns, come up with a lot of details regarding to the maneuvers, intrusions, and conquests of the peoples, including thousands of particularities what we cannot find in other sources. My main reasons to reject them were their weak coincidence with the Greek and Roman historians, their falling into great anachronisms, and the tales that they include making me doubtful in the rest."⁸

Deguignes put the first nail in the coffin of this more or less invented Hun-Hungarian tradition. The second nail in the coffin was delivered by Pray. Of course, he was conscious about what he had done. To defend himself from the attacks that his work might cause, he offered his book to Innocetius Desericus (Desericzky Ince, 1702-1763) OSP, who wrote the last compendium of the clas-

⁷ J. de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum* (reprint), Budapest 1991; J. Thuróczy, *Chronicle of the Hungarians*, trans. F. Mantello; forew. and comm. P. Engel, Bloomington 1991; E. Mályusz, *A Thuroczy-krónika és forrásai*, [The Chronicle of Thuroczy and its sources] Budapest 1967.

⁸ «On sera, peut-être surpris que je n'aie fait aucun usage des Historiens Hongrois pour l'irruption des Huns sous Attila. Les Hongrois, qui se regardent comme descendus des Huns, entrent dans les grands détails sur le passage, sur les incursions, sur les conquêtes de ces peuples & nous apprennent mille particularités que nous ne trouvons point d'ailleurs. C'est principalement cette raison qui me les a fait rejeter; le peu d'accord que j'ai trouvé entre eux & les Historiens Grecs ou Romains, les anachronismes grossiers dans lesquels on les voit tomber, les fables qu'ils débitent, me font douter de l'exactitude du reste.» Deguignes, *Histoire générale...*, I/1, xii.

sical Hungarian historical tradition.⁹ This work was offered to Joseph II, then King of Germany. In this way Desericzky wanted to call the attention of Joseph, then also Crown Prince of Hungary, to the merits and liberties of his future realm.¹⁰ Joseph, however, chose another way. He never became a crowned King of Hungary; he only tried to rule the lands of Saint Stephen's Crown on the basis of the *Pragmatica Sanctio*. Therefore, he is still held to be an usurper in the Hungarian historical tradition. Pray should be aware of the fact that his breaking with the traditional Hungarian historical conscienceness might cause serious consequences.

On the other hand, one should take into consideration the traditional rivalry between the two orders: the Jesuits and the Piarists.

The third, and perhaps the most important factor, that should constitute the background of this work is the so called "rite debates". It is a well-known fact that the Jesuits working in China were blamed for their adaptiveness of the Chinese tradition. What if the prehistory of Hungary, a highly esteemed member of the *Res Publica Christiana*, could have been written on the basis of these blamed Chinese authors? We can surmise that the book by Pray first served as a defence for the Jesuits; it was written only in the second plan as a reshaping of the Hungarian historical tradition.

The content of the works

Although inspired by Deguignes, Pray placed the focus of his work on the prehistory of the Hungarian nation (*natio Hungarica*), which at this time was more a political than an ethnological term. All nobles or otherwise privileged members of society in the lands of Saint Stephen's Crown were held to be "Hungarians" *versus* the "slaves", with no regard for their real ethnic backgrounds. Pray was a pioneer in searching for real ethnic affiliations instead of political legends, but even he could not totally eliminate this long-embedded political ideology. He made the first clear differentiation between the nomadic peoples who invaded and settled in the Carpathian basin, the Huns, Avars, and later the Hungarians. Therefore, according to his explanations, Attila and his Huns were no longer the forerunners of the Hungarians.

As for the land taking Hungarians, according to Deguignes, they were to be identified with the various remnants of the Western Turks,¹¹ who were de-

⁹ Josephi Innocentii Desericii, Hungari Nitensis, Clerici Regularis Scholarum Piarum: *De Initii ac Majoribus Hungarorum Commentaria quibus accedit circa finem Libri secundi insigne ac per antiquum manuscriptum ex Vaticana Bibliotheca derontum hac tenus desideratum* I-V., Budae ac Pestini 1748-1760.

¹⁰ A. Görömbei, "Az ősmagyarság képe felvilágosodás- és reformkori történetírásunkban," [The image of the ancient Hungarians in the Hungarian historiography of the Enlightenment and Reformation] *Studia Litteraria* 60 (1971), 65.

¹¹ Deguignes, *Histoire générale...*, I/2, 452-506.

scribed by the Chinese historians as *Tujue*. The link between the two bulks of people was searched for in the work of the famous Byzantine author, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who named the land taking Hungarians as Turks (*Tourkoi*).¹² He also tried to establish a dynastic link between the Western Turks and the forerunners of the Hungarians. He mentioned that in 840 A. D., the lord of the *Kie-kia-su* (*Xiajiasu*, i.e. the Yenisei Kirgiz), who lived in the ancient territories of the Tim-lim (*Dingling*) and the Kien-kuen (*Jiankun*, and the Paleo-siberian ancestors of the Yenisei Kirgiz) revolted against the Uigurs, the successors of the Turks in Inner Asia.¹³ Their leader was Oge-khan, in whose name Deguignes sees the name of the grand-grandfather of Árpád, Ugeck, known by him through the data of Thuróczy.¹⁴ As to the name of Oge-khan, one can surmise that it can be identified as *ügä* ('chancellor, governor'), a well-known Old Turkic title of the age.¹⁵ As to the historical facts, one can suppose that the Oge-khan mentioned by Deguignes can most possibly be identified with the name (or more possibly the tile) of *Wujie* (烏介, EMC ?ɔ-kəj^h/kɛ:j^h LMC ?uə-kja:j^h) Khagan. In 842, he was the last to enthrone himself as the ruler of the Uigurs in the territory that is now Outer Mongolia.¹⁶ The affinity between the names *ügä* and Ugeck/*Ügyek* (as it is now read in Hungarian historiography) had already been analysed by György Györffy.¹⁷ Such an etymology is far not improbable, but it still needs further argumentation. As for the historical identification of a

¹² Deguignes, *Histoire Générale...*, I/2, 510- 518; Görömbei, *Az ősmagyarság...*, 66; A. Várnai, "Az európai Kína-kép alakulása és hatása a felvilágosodás korában," [The evolution and impact of the European China-image at the time of the Enlightenment] In: *Dolgozatok a feudáliskori művelődéstörténet köréből*, [Studies on the history of feudal culture] ed. G. Klaniczay, G. Pajkossy, É. Ring Budapest 1974, 32.

¹³ Deguignes: *Histoire générale...*, 504-505; M. Drompp, "Breaking the Orkhon Tradition: Kirghiz Adherence to the Yenisei Region after A.D. 840", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 119 (1999), 391.

¹⁴ «Arpad est reconnu encore aujourd'hui pour le premier Prince, & un des principaux des Madgiars ou Hongrois; il étoit fils de Salmuts que Thwrokz [Thuróczy, D.M.] appelle Almus. Son pere Eleud fils d'Ugeck, regnoit dans la Scythie, & prétendoit être issu d'Attila. Cet Ugeck dont les Historiens Hongrois ont conservé le nom pourrait être Oge-khan, qui l'an 840 regnoit dans le Tartarie à l'Occident de l'Irtich.» Deguignes: *Histoire générale...*, I/2, 512.

¹⁵ F. W. K. Müller, *Zwei Pfahlschriften aus der Turfanfunden*. Berlin 1915. I. Ecsedy, "Uigurs and Tibetans in Pei-t'ing," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 17 (1964), 83-104.

¹⁶ M. Drompp, "The Uighur-Chinese conflict of 840-848," In: *Warfare in Inner Asian History* (Handbook of Oriental Studies/Handbuch der Orientalistik, VII/6), ed. N. Di Cosmo, Leiden-Boston-Köln 2002, 79; M. Drompp, *Tang China and the Collapse of the Uighur Empire. A Documentary History*. Leiden-Boston 2005, 54-55; 76-77; Drompp transliterates this name as Öge-khan.

¹⁷ Gy. Györffy, *Tanulmányok a magyar állam eredetéről. A nemzetségtől a vármegyéig, a törzstől az orszáig. Kurszán és Kurszán vára*. [Studies on the origins of Hungarian statehood. From clan to county, from tribe to country. Cursan and Cursan's castle] Budapest 1959, 82-83.

legendary ancestor of Árpád with any real ruler of Inner Asia, this is of course impossible.

The innovations of Pray

The first innovation in Pray's argumentation is that in narrating the story of the land taking Hungarians, he made use of the famous work *Gesta Hungarorum* of Master P. (*P. dictus magister*), or the Hungarian Anonymous.¹⁸ This work was preserved only in one manuscript in Vienna and was then in Budapest from 1928 onwards. It was first published by Georg J. Schwandtner and Matthias Bél in 1746 (*Scriptores Rerum Hungaricum I*). It could have remained totally unknown to Deguignes. Pray tried to identify the land taking Hungarians with the Kabars, who, according to him, unified with the *Turks* coming from the South.¹⁹ Pray also added that, based on his sources, the Ottomans should also be held to be relatives of the Hungarians. Later, Pray also added that the Hungarians were Finno-Ugrians by language,²⁰ and accordingly the Huns and the Avars should also be seen as Finno-Ugrians.²¹

¹⁸ The most important editions of this work are: *Gesta Hungarorum*, (Bibliotheca scriptorum medii recentisque aevorum: Saec. XII-XIII,) ed. L. Juhász, Budapest-Bononia-Lipsia MCMXXXII; Anonymus, *Gesta Hungarorum*, Facsimile with a Hungarian Translation by D. Pais, Budapest 1977; Anonymus (Notary of King Béla), *The Deeds of the Hungarians*, ed. trans. ann. M. Rady, L. Veszprémy, in *Anonymus and Master Roger* (Central European Medieval Texts vol 5), Budapest–New York 2010; for the most detailed information on this work see: Gy. Györffy, *Anonymus. Rejtély vagy történeti forrás? Válogatott tanulmányok*. [Anonymus. A mystery or a historical source? Selection of studies] Budapest 1988.

¹⁹ On the Kabars see: M. V. Gorelik, "Tri plemeni kabar," In: *Hungaro-Rossica. Byulleten' Obshchestva vostokovedov*, vyp. 9, ed. V. V. Vasil'ev, Moskva 2002, 47–51.

²⁰ G. Pray, *Dissertationes Historico-Criticae in Annales veteres Hunnorum, Avarum et Hungarorum* (Vindobonae MDCCLXXIV), 1–2.

²¹ "Prius autem, quam Finnos Hunnicæ originis populum fuisse ostendam, necesse est, ut Avars, & Hungaros, ex Hunnorum corpore, & numero itidem fuisse declarare, quod quamquam alias haud parce conatus fuerim, hoc tamen loco in primis faciendum mihi video." Pray, *Dissertationes Historico-Criticae*, 2.

The Elite Supporters of the Hungarian Rule in 13th-Century Halych

MÁRTA FONT



The Hungarian kings of the late 12th and early 13th centuries made several efforts to extend their rule over the Principality of Halych. The Halych-Volhynian Chronicle contains numerous descriptions on the Hungarian campaigns, including the names of the participants. Concurrently, the number of diplomas of the Hungarian king which mentions persons who participated in the campaigns against Halych increased significantly. The collection of the individuals from both sources has been listed. The rapid development of recent genealogical studies in Hungarian historiography provide an opportunity to review and revise the highest echelon of Hungarian and Halychian personnel supporting the Hungarian rule in 13th-century Halych.

The Hungarian Kingdom established dynastic relations with its eastern neighbour, the Kievan Rus', as early as the 11th century.¹ The Hungarian king Ladislaus I (r. 1077–1095) was the first to lead a campaign beyond the Carpathians and only the Hungarian chronicles recorded it.² This was instigated by the

¹ *Régmúlt idők elbeszélése. A Kijevi Rusz első krónikája* [The Tale of Past Years. The Primary Chronicle of the Kievan Rus] ed. L. Balogh–Sz. Kovács transl. I. Ferincz. Budapest, 2015, 34–35, 49–50, 100, 103. For a study on the events preceeding the Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian basin, see L. Balogh, "A magyarság a kelet-európai nomád népek sorában," [The Hungarians among the Nomadic Peoples of Eastern Europe] In: Balogh–Kovács, *Régmúlt Idők elbeszélése*, 279–302.; for the period 1000–1200, see: M. Font, "A Kijevi Rusz és a Magyar Királyság a 11. században és a 12. század elején (Szent Istvántól Kálmánig)," [Kievan Rus and the Hungarian Kingdom in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries (from Saint Stephen to Coloman, In: Balogh–Kovács, *Régmúlt Idők elbeszélése*, 303–315.; concerning the dynastic marriages in the Hungarian chronicle, see *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*. Vol. I–II. Edendo opera praefuit Emericus Szentpétery. Budapest 1937–1938, 344–345.; M. Font, "I. András és Bölcs Jaroszlav," [Andrew I and Yaroslav the Wise] *Világtörténet* 5 (37) (2015:4), 607–624.

² *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* I. 41–415.; M. Font, *Árpád-házi királyok és Rurikida fejedelmek*. [The Kings of the Árpád Dynasty and Rurikid Princes] Szeged 2005, 135–136.

fact that the centres situated to the south-west of Kiev were insignificant compared to Kiev. The Principality of Halych was formed from them in the 12th century. Those Rurikids who were forced into the periphery used the military strength of the Steppe (namely the Cumans) to consolidate their position.³ The Hungarian king Coloman the Learned (r. 1095–1116) intervened in the rivalry between the Rus' principalities. In 1099, he suffered a serious defeat from the allies of his enemies, the Cumans, at Peremyshl (today's Przemyśl).⁴ The Hungarian campaigns bringing succour the south-western Rus' principalities, the later Halych-Volhynia: in 1123, Stephen II (r. 1116–1131), in 1138 Béla II (r. 1131–1141) sent an army.⁵ Géza II (r. 1141–1162) continued this policy in some respects; nonetheless, he supported his brother-in-law, the Grand Prince of Kiev, in sometimes confronting his previous allies.⁶ In the aforementioned cases, the Hungarian kings did not strive to extend their rule over any part of the Rus territories. However, under the rule of Béla III (r. 1172–1196), the role of Prince Andrew in Halych and the Hungarian royal army prepared Hungarian domination (see the imprisonment of the Prince of Halych in Hungary). This trend prevailed in the policy of the Hungarian kings until the mid-13th century.

Members of the Elite in Hungary

The narrative of the Halych-Volhynian Chronicle (*HVC* hereafter), which contains references to the events of the 13th century, essentially concentrates on the south-western territories of the Rus and gives detailed information about the Hungarian campaigns; moreover, it provides several of the participants' names.⁷ From the time of Andrew II (r. 1205–1235), the number of diplomas issued in Hungary significantly rose which recorded donations made by the king. All of the merits that deserved the king's largesse were listed in these diplomas. These were often derived from military service on Halychian soil. These data have been collected in our earlier work.⁸ In recent years, however,

³ M. Font, "Magyar kalandozások és a kelet-európai viking terjeszkedés," [Magyar Raids and Viking Expansion in Eastern Europe] In: *Nomád népvándorlások, magyar honfoglalás*. [Nomadic Migratons, Hungarian Conquest] ed. Sz. Felföldi-B. Sinkovics, Budapest, 2001 97–105.; M. Font, "Old-Russian Principalities and their Nomadic Neighbours: Stereotypes of Chronicles and Diplomatic Practice of the Princes." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 48/3 (2005) 267–276.; Sz. Kovács, "A kunok a *Poveszty vremennih let-ben*." [Cumans in the *Poveszty vremennih let*] In: Balogh-Kovács, *Régmúlt idők elbeszélése*, 317–331.

⁴ Balogh-Kovács, *Régmúlt idők elbeszélése*, 202–203.; *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* I. 424.

⁵ M. Font, *Magyarok a Kijevi Évkönyvben*. [Hungarians in the Kievan Chronicle] Szeged 1996, 59.

⁶ Font, *Magyarok*, 69–279.; *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* I. 460.; Font, *Árpád-házi királyok*, 160–178.

⁷ Font, *Árpád-házi királyok*, 53–62.

⁸ *Ibid*, 109–110.

genealogical research has entailed new results regarding the composition of the warring elite.⁹ Thus, it is worth the effort to re-examine the highest echelon of personnel, both Hungarian and Halychian, which supported the Hungarian rule in 13th-century Halych.

Table 1. Individuals who received the king's donation and appeared in royal diplomas for their services in Halych (Font, *Árpád-házi királyok*, 109-110, the years in italics refer to forged diplomas)

<i>Diploma</i>				<i>Diploma</i>			
No.	date	issuer	beneficiary		date	issuer	beneficiary
1	?	Béla III	Ceka	14	1248	Béla IV	count Benedek
2	1211	Andrew II	Fábián and Vince	15	1249		castellan Pál, count of Zala
3	1212		Farkas and Péter (their brother, the late János)	16	1250		The sons of ban Füle (File)
4	1224		Lőrinc of Frankavilla	17	1250		Geche's son Ivachin, count of Szeben
5	1229		Mihály son of Ábrahám				
6	1230		Buhtka and Natk	18	1253		Witk
7	1230		count Tamás	19	1256		Jakab son of Jakab
8	1231		count Tamás	20	1256		Jordan, son

⁹ A. Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000-1301*. [The Secular Archontology of Hungary, 1000-1301] Budapest 2011.; D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów książąt halicko-wołyńskich*. Toruń-Wrocław 2002.; D. Dąbrowski, *Daniel Romanowicz Król Rusi*. (ok. 1201-1264). Biografia polityczna. Kraków, 2012.; D. Dąbrowski, *Daniel Romanowicz Król Rusi. O ruskiej rodzinie książęcej, społeczeństwie i kulturze w XIII w.* Kraków, 2016.; A. Jusupović, "Wpływ Halickiego otoczenia książęcego na 'władzę' w pierwszej połowie XIII wieku, na przykładzie Sudysława". *Княжа доба V* (2011) 145-162. ; A. Jusupović, *Elity ziemi Halickiej i Wołyńskiej w czasach Romanowiczów (ok. 1205-1269)* Kraków 2013.; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба на Русі: портрети еліти* [The Period of the Princes in the Rus': Portraits of Elite]. Біла Церква, 2006.; М. Волощук, «Русь» в Угорському Королівстві (XI-друга половина XIV ст.): суспільно-політична роль, майнові стосунки, міграції. [„Rus” in the Hungarian Kingdom (XI - second half of the XIV c.): its Social-Political Role, the most important Conflicts, Migration]. Івано-Франківськ 2014.

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						of Arnold, count of Szepes
9	1233		Nána, eq- uerry	21	1259	German
10	1234		Demeter, master carver to the prince	22	1261	German
11	1235	Béla IV	Dénes son of Dénes, eq- uerry	23	1261	Simon son of Tamás
12	1244		Miklós son of Obichk	24	1264	Lőrinc, count of Moson
13	1248		Herbort, son of Osl	25	1267	Bogomer, son of Lőrinc

Of those people who are listed in *Table 1*, ten belonged to the elite.¹⁰ These were the count Tamás (No. 7 and 8), the equerry Nána (9), Demeter, master carver to the prince (10), the equerry Dénes son of Dénes (11), count Benedek (14), Pál, castellan and count of Zala (15), Füle (File) ban (16), Geche's son Ivachin, count of Szeben (17), Jordan the son of Arnold, count of Szeben (20) and Lőrinc the count of Moson (24). Some of them are known for their activities in the Rus' solely from Hungarian diplomas (see *Table 2*), whilst others are mentioned both in Hungarian diplomas and in the *HVC* (see *Table 3*). There was a group of noblemen whose activities in Halych were attested only in the *HVC* (*Table 4*).

¹⁰ For the lower social strata, see M. Font, "Felvidéki kismemesek királyi szolgálatban. (Adalékok 13-14. századi társadalomtörténetünkhöz.)" [Lesser Nobles from Upper Hungary in Royal Service. Contributions on Thirteenth and Fourteenth-century Social History of Hungary] In: *Kelet és Nyugat között. Történeti tanulmányok Kristó Gyula tiszteletére.* [Between East and West. Historical Studies in the Honour of Gyula Kristó] ed. L. Koszta, Szeged 1995. 169-185; The diploma written for Demeter of the house of Aba, master carver to Prince Coloman, provides further details on individuals partaking in the Halychian wars. The diploma mentions that Demeter was accompanied by eight kinsmen. These fell into captivity along with Coloman: Demeter's two brothers Mikola and László were wounded; his half-brother Aba was present, as were his kinsmen on his mother's side, namely János' sons Tamás and János, Ottó's son Juda, Vid's son Mátyand Pexa's son Mojs, see *Árpádok új okmánytár.* I-XII. [Novel Repertory of Documents from the Time of the Árpáds] publ. G. Wenzel, Pest-Budapest, 1860-1874 VI. 545. No. 345).

Table 2. Hungarian elite participating in Halychian campaigns attested only in Hungarian diplomas (years in italics refer to forged diplomas).

<i>date of the diploma</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>Office</i>	<i>service in Halych</i>
1230 1231	Tamás son of Makarias of the house of Monoszló	count of Valkó 1221	wounded in one of the campaigns (possibly the 1230 one)
1233	Nána son of Nána of the house of Nánabeszter	keeper of the royal horses 1233	participated in the successful 1231-siege of Yaroslav
1249	Pál son of Pál of the house of Geregye	count of Fejér, 1238-1241; judge royal 1241, 1248-1252; count of Szolnok 1245-1247; count of Zala 1248-1252	participated in the siege of Halych Castle (1230)
1264	Lőrinc (son of Kemény?)	count of Moson 1263-1264, palatine 1267-1269, 1272 and a plethora of other offices	participated in the unsuccessful siege of Yaroslav (defeat: 17 Aug. 1245)
1250	Ivachin (son of Gecse) – his sons refer to him	count of Szeben 1210	participation in the campaign: <i>contra Romanum ducem Ruthenorum</i> (1211)
1256	Jordan (son of Arnold, count of Szepes)	?	member of a diplomatic mission (undatable)

Table 3. Office-holders whose presence in Halych was attested in Hungarian diplomas and in the HVC.

<i>date of the diploma</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>Office</i>	<i>service in Halych</i>
1234	Demeter, son of Sükösd from the house of Aba	master carver to the prince 1216-1234; count of Bodrog 1235-1240 [1247]	present in the Halychian court of Prince Coloman
1235	Dénes son of Dénes of the house of Túrje	voivod 1233-1234; equerry 1235-1241; palatine 1245-1246,	participated in the 1230 campaign of Prince Béla (<i>de</i>

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		1248 and a plethora of other offices	<i>mandato et voluntate patris</i>) and the successful 1231 siege of Yaroslav
1248	count Benedek (?)	Dux (?)	governed in Halych at end of 1210/beginning of 1211 accompanied King Coloman in 1214 (?)
1250	sons of Füle (File) [died 1245]	master carver 1231-1232; count of Sopron 1234; ban (?); vice palatine 1220 (?)	alongside Coloman King of Halych 1219-1221; fell at the unsuccessful siege of Yaroslav (17 Aug. 1245)

Table 4. Persons whose Halychian service was documented only in the HVC.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Office</i>
Pat (Poth) of the house of Győr	palatine 1209-1212
Péter son of Töre (Turoy)	count of Bács 1210-1212
Banko (Bánk - of the house of Borkalán?)	curial count to the queen 1210-1212; count of Bihar 1209-1212; palatine 1212-1213
Mika (<i>barbatus</i> = <i>borodatyj</i>)	count of Bihar 1212-1216, 1219-1221, 1226; count of Nyitra 1223
Lotard (of the house of Gutkeled)	count of Szabolcs 1213
Marcell (son of Marcell of the house of Tétény)	curial count 1211-1212; head of several counties 1206-1214
Tiborc (of the house of Rosd?)	count of Nyitra 1211; various other offices 1198-1222
Makján (ancestor of the Debrő- branch of the house of Aba)	?

Andrew II led his first campaign to Halych in 1205. The local chronicler recorded a few individuals who remained in the fortress of Sanok to maintain the rule of the child Danyil. Their leader may have been the one-eyed palatine Mog (Moch).¹¹ He had already twice bore the highest rank of the palatine (1192-1193, 1198-1199) in the court of Béla III. Mog also appeared in the sources as the head

¹¹ *Ипатьевская летопись*. ed. Б. М. Клосс, Москва, 2001.² II. 717.

of a number of counties (Nyitra, Bács, Bodrog, Sopron, Bihar, Bars, Pozsony).¹² If we consider that he was additionally the curial count between 1185 and 1186, it is also possible that he participated in the Hungarian expansionist activities of 1188–1189. It can be supposed that it was not by chance that Andrew II yet again placed him in the rank of palatine and took him to Halych. The other people, who were presumably the leaders of the Hungarian army, cannot be identified. The name Blaginya may possibly be associated with Bagonya (Bagana) or Bágyon (Bagun, Bugen); however, the former only appears in the 1280s and the latter in 1213.¹³ The situation is the same with the name Korocsun, which occasionally appears in the form of Karachinus or Carachinus, but only in the 1260s. We are not aware of any officeholder with a name similar to that of Volptor, or his son, Vitomir. It cannot be excluded that individuals with this name were present in the Hungarian army, but due to their absence in the contemporary Hungarian documentary material, they may have not been members of the military elite,¹⁴ but originated from lower social groups.

The local chronicler recorded names of Hungarians in the highest number in the 1211 summer campaign of the Hungarian king.¹⁵ On the one hand, this was possibly entailed by the fact that King Andrew II had led his army in person to install the child Daniil as ruler of Halych. On the other hand, Daniil and the events around him may have led the chronicler to focus on members of the Hungarian army. The ruler entrusted the palatine¹⁶ Pat (Poth) of the house of Győr as commander-in-chief. The chronicler mentioned seven other individuals. Among them, Péter, the son of Töre (Turoy), who was count of Bács between 1210 and 1212, and was a member of the palatine's army, while the others are mentioned in order as leaders of the Hungarian military force. In several cases, the list refers to their particular office: Banko (Bánk), the queen's curial count between 1210 and 1212, was simultaneously (1209–1212) count of Bihar; Marcell was the curial count (1211–1212), while Tiborc was count of Nyitra (1211). In 1211, the bearded Mika (*Mica barbatus*, *Mika borodatyj*) held no office; it was afterwards that his career blossomed, for in 1212 he succeeded Bánk in the county of Bihar. Lotárd of the house of Gutkeled later became the count of Szabolcs (1213). The name of Makján, we know only from the end of the 13th century; perhaps here we have here one of his ancestors.¹⁷ Of those listed, it is certain that several did not play any role later in the retinue of Coloman as crowned King of Halych. For instance, there is no further information given regarding the palatine Pat, who was count of Moson from 1214–1215: he had

¹² He may have belonged to the house of Hontpázmány or that of Csanád. See Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 338.

¹³ Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 286.

¹⁴ As it appears in the Russian edition of the HVC: Клосс, *Ипатьевская летопись*, II. Index p. VII, IX, X, XX.

¹⁵ Клосс, *Ипатьевская летопись*. II. 724.; Font, 2005a. 228–229.

¹⁶ Bore this office from 1209 to 1212.

¹⁷ Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 286–287 (Bánk), 323 (Lotárd), 326 (Makján, Marcell) 332 (Mika), 343 (Pat, Péter).

probably died. It could be the same with Marcell, who disappeared from the sources after 1214, and also with Makján and Lotard in the absence of any information. In 1213, Péter son of Töre was one of Queen Gertrude's assassins, for which the king had him impaled. In the years between 1213 and 1217, Bánk did not bear any office, which is strange as he had continually filled important positions since 1199. His part in the assassination of Queen Gertrude has been refuted by Tamás Körmendi, as from 1217 to 1222 he again held important offices: he was ban of Slavonia (1217), simultaneously curial count and count of Fejér (1221–1222), then count of Bodrog (1222) and Ujvár (1222).¹⁸ The task of freeing Coloman from captivity probably fell to Bánk due to his earlier experience.

We know of some of the characters comprising the Halych court of Prince Coloman, and also that they later remained with him in Slavonia. One of them was Demeter of the house of Aba, who held the office of master carver to the prince from 1216 to 1240, was count of Bodrog between 1235 and 1240, and was still alive in 1247, though it is not attested whether he filled further positions.¹⁹ The *HVC* provides evidence that Demeter was indeed alongside Coloman in the fortress of Halych, prior to their imprisonment.²⁰ By the time the Hungarian army departed for Volhynia, Coloman could only have a tiny retinue including 'Ivan, Lekin and Dmitr'.²¹ I agree that Hodinka has translated the name Dmitr to Demeter, but the other two names belong together: Ivan Lekin. According to Jusupović Ivan Lekin is a Hungarian commander.²² I suggest identifying him with Ivachin (Iwachin), count of Szeben.²³ Uz – the bearer of an otherwise rare name and who was shot in the eye in battle – may be identical with the platter-bearing count mentioned in 1219, and his death may explain why he was only referenced once.²⁴

Füle (Fila, in the *HVC* haughty Filja), another well-known member of Coloman's court, was attested in the positions of royal master carver (1231–1232) and count of Sopron (1237–1240). In the diploma prepared for his sons after his death (1250), Füle is referred to as a ban, but we do not know when he held this title. I disagree with Długosz' claim that Füle occupied the position of the pala-

¹⁸ T. Körmendi, "A Gertrúd királyné elleni merénylet körülményei." [The Circumstances of Queen Gertrúd's Assassination]" In: *Egy történelmi gyilkosság margójára. Merániai Gertrúd emlékezete 1213–2013*. [Marginal Glosses to a Historical Murder: The Memory of Gertrud of Merania, 1213–2013]. ed. J. Majorossy, Szentendre 2014. 95–124; 107–108 (Töre fia Péter), 112–115 (Bánk); for Bánk, see Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 286–287.

¹⁹ G. Wenzel, *Árpádkori új okmánytár*, VI. 545.; Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 71, 294.

²⁰ Клосс, *Ипатьевская летопись*, II. 737.

²¹ Клосс, *Ипатьевская летопись*, II. 737.; A. Hodinka, *Az orosz évkönyvek magyar vonatkozásai*. [Hungary-related Material in the Russian Annals] Budapest 1916, 344–345.

²² Jusupović, *Elity ziemi*, 250.; Font, *Árpád-házi királyok*, 110, 114.; Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 204, 312.

²³ Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 204.

²⁴ Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 356.

tine.²⁵ The *HVC* attests that Füle stood at the van of the Hungarian forces in Halych when Coloman and Salomea were captured and Mstyslav took Halych in 1221.²⁶ Füle's army did not defend the fortress, but had marched to Volynia with Leszek. After catching up with them, Mstyslav's army proved superior on the eve of the Feast of the Virgin Mary.²⁷ Füle most likely led the army that was sent to Halych in 1219, any information about the arrival of other forces were not documented between 1219 and 1221. Füle was among the last to return to Hungary from captivity. Following this, we do not know if he played any part during the rule of Prince Andrew in Halych. His interest in matters regarding Halych did not cease as he was killed in 1245 whilst fighting in the battle at Yaroslavl in Halych.²⁸

The most puzzling Hungarian figure in the 1210s was Benedek. He appears in the *HVC* as 'the bald' (*lysi*) and he governed alongside the child Coloman for a while. Pashuto and Hrushevsky identified him as Benedek, son of Korlát. However, I agree with Włodarski who emphasised that there were several Benedeks at this time, and it was not possible to establish which of these was the person being discussed. In the *HVC*, Benedek is described hostilely as the Antichrist; other characteristics are not mentioned. In the Hungarian diplomas, a Benedek is described as *calvus*, pointing to baldness. It cannot be proved with full certainty, but I suggest that it is justified to differentiate between the two individuals.²⁹ There is an accepted view in Hungarian historiography regarding the year 1208, which is influenced by the opinion of Gyula Pauler. In Pauler's view, it was Benedek, the Transylvanian voivod (1205–1206, 1208–1209), the son of Korlát of the house of Bor, who took over the government of Halych prior to Coloman's kingship. Following Hrushevsky's opinion, the campaign of

²⁵ Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 302.; Ioannis Dlugossii *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*. Libri XII. Cracoviae 1873. (reprint: Liber sextus (1174–1240) Varsaviae 1973.) VI. 206.; the misinterpretation occurs also later, f. i.: M. Bartnicki, *Polityka zagraniczna księcia Daniela Halickiego w latach 1217–1264*. [Foreign Policy of Prince Daniel of Halych in the years 1217–1264]. Lublin 2005. 47.

²⁶ Клосс, *Ипатьевская летопись*, II. 737.

²⁷ Клосс, *Ипатьевская летопись*, II. 737–738. ; most likely on the eve of the Virgin Mary's Feast 15 August, see Font, *Árpád-házi királyok*, 213.; for a critique on the dating of other celebrations of Mary, see M. Font–G. Barabás, *Kálmán (1208–1241). Halics királya, Szlavónia hercege*. [Coloman (1208–1241). The King of Halych, the Prince of Slavonia] Pécs 2017. 56.

²⁸ Font, *Árpád-házi királyok*, 212–213, 248.

²⁹ For Benedek 'the bald', see Клосс, *Ипатьевская летопись*, II. 732.; about this: М. Грушевський, *Історія України – Русі*. [History of Ukraine-Rus']. I–III. У Львові, 1905 III. 31.; В. Т. Пашуто, *Очерки по истории Галицко-Волынской Руси*. Москва 1950. 200.; B. Włodarski, *Polska i Rus 1194–1340*. Warszawa 1966. 65. 25. Note A. Herucová, "Palatine Then Antichrist. Benedict in the Chronicle of Galicia-Volhynia." In: *Rus' and Central Europe from the 11th to the 14th Century. Publication from the 5th International Conference, Spišská kapitula, 16–18th October, 2014*. ed. V. Nagirnyy–A. Mesiarkin Kraków–Bratislava 2015. 117–127.; My porition is earlier as Herucová's interpretation, on Benedek, see Font, *Árpád-házi királyok*, 206.

Benedek, son of Korlát, was dated to 1210 by Pashuto and Lammich. By contrast, Włodarski dated it to 1209.³⁰ It is certain that Benedek's rule was not popular. A papal letter dated to 1207 referenced plans concerning the religious union.³¹ Thus, it is not accidental that the HVC denoted Benedek as 'the Anti-christ; he aroused such antipathy that in the first half of 1211 he was expelled. Presumably, this high position in Halych entailed that Benedek appeared as *dux* in a diploma dated to 1221.³² Canvassing the career of Benedek, son of Korlát, is difficult, especially in relation to the contradiction between his expulsion in 1209 and his role in Halych, and the peculiar situation whereby he occupied the title of *dux* even though he was not a member of the ruling dynasty. A further question concerns what we may know about Benedek, 'the bald'.

Most recently, Senga Toru attempted to identify the two Benedeks.³³ It was particularly a desideratum because their cases were misinterpreted, especially in the scholarship written in the Slavic languages. Among other factors, the two Benedeks are mixed and lumped together, with some writers incorrectly referring to one "Benedikt Bor", an individual who did not exist in early 13th-century Hungary. Scholars are not aware of the house of Bárkalán, and the name *Bor* is explained by the Hungarian common noun *bor* (wine).³⁴ Others merge together Benedek with the palatine Pat (Poth), and they do not recognise the significant distinction between the Hungarian rank of *vajda* (voivod) and the Slavic *vojevoda*.³⁵ These views appear in the commentaries of text editions and almost without exception in the specialist literature.³⁶ In unpicking the historiographical thread, Senga Toru discovered the source of the error in the Slavic

³⁰ *Летопись по Воскресенскому списку*. ed. Клосс, Б. М. Москва 2001.² 116.; Gy. Pauler, *A magyar nemzet története az Árpád-házi királyok alatt*. [The History of the Hungarian Nation under the Árpáds] I-II. Budapest 1899.² II. 50.; Gy. Kristó, *Az Árpád-kor háborúi*. [Wars under the Árpáds] Budapest 1986, 101.; М. Грушевський, "Хронологія подій Галицько-Волинської літописи." In: *Записи наукового Товариства ім Шевченка*. т. XII. (1901.) Львів, 1-72, 10-11.; В. Т. Пашуто, *Очерки*, 196.; Т. Пашуто, *Внешняя политика Древней Руси*. Москва 1968, 243.; М. Lammich, *Fürsten Biographien des 13. Jahrhunderts in den russischen Chroniken*. Köln 1973, 7-12.; Włodarski, *Polska i Rus*, 42.

³¹ *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantia*. I. (1075-1700). Rom 1953, 12.; For the role of Gregorius de Crescentio in Hungary, see G. Barabás, *A pápaság és Magyarország a 13. század első felében. Pápai hatás – együttműködés – érdekellentét*. [The Papacy and Hungary in the First Half of the Thirteenth Century. Papal Influence-Cooperation-Conflicting Interests] Pécs 2015, 28.

³² *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. I-XI. Buda 1829-1844, III/1. 316.

³³ T. Senga, "'Benedikt Bor', Benedek és Bankó Halicsban 1210 körül. ['Benedikt Bor', Benedek and Bankó in Halych] *Magyar Nyelv* 112 (2016), 1-2, 32-49, 183-206.

³⁴ Л. Войтович, *Галицько-Волинські етюди* [Galician-Volhynian Studies]. Біла Церква 2011, 236-237.

³⁵ О. Б. Головкин, *Корона Данила Галицького. Волинь і Галичина в державно-політичному розвитку Центрально-Східної Європи та класичного середньовіччя*. Київ 2006, 266.

³⁶ Senga, *Benedikt Bor*, 32-36.

literature in Sergej M. Soloviev's (1820–1879) work on the history of Russia. Soloviev drew upon the German-language publication by Christian Engel (1770–1814). In other words, a long-outdated statement from a work published in 1813 still circulates and is accepted in the most recent Russian, Ukrainian, Serbian and Polish works.

Senga's analysis is based upon the biography of Benedek by Attila Zsoldos. Zsoldos claims that Benedek, the son of Korlát and the voivod of Transylvania (1202–1206, 1208–1209), disappeared from the sources in 1209 due to his role in the conspiracy against Andrew II in 1209. After the plot, Benedek was exiled by the king as a diploma of 1221 proves. According to the diploma, Benedek managed to retain the positions he obtained at the time of King Emeric during the reign of Andrew until he turned against his king. It is Zsoldos' opinion that the Benedek who was count of Sopron between 1206 and 1208 was another Benedek. Zsoldos presumes that Benedek, son of Korlát, was governing Halych at this time; this perspective was evidently based on Hodinka's research that did not make any comment concerning the erroneous chronology of the HVC.³⁷ The contradiction between Benedek's exile in 1209 and Benedek's role as governor can only be solved by following Klatý's opinion. He asserts that Benedek received a pardon; thereby, he came to the forefront of power in Halych at the end of 1210.³⁸ This suggestion cannot be supported by the sources, so Senga's interpretation is more likely; that is, the Benedek of Halych termed the 'Anti-christ' is not the same person as Korlát's son Benedek. In this case, it would be difficult to substantiate Benedek's title as *dux*.

I do not agree with Senga's assumption that Benedek gained the title of *dux* through his marriage with the noblewoman Lady Tota, the lady-in-waiting of Queen Constance. In other respects, I find Senga's analysis acceptable; that is, the Benedek appearing in the HVC without any additional denominations cannot be identified with Benedek, son of Korlát. As a consequence, Senga considers Benedek without any epithet and the 'bald' Benedek to be one and the same person whose career began with the accession to the throne of Andrew II in 1205. Benedek was the count of Bodrog (1205), then of Sopron (1206–1208) and Újvár (1209). Between 1209 and 1214, he did not bear any office in Hungary, the hiatus making it possible to envisage his stay in Halych between 1210 and 1211. Moreover, this could explain the fact that Benedek occupied the position of the count of Ung, nearby Halych, in 1214. Senga also deems it probable that Benedek strove to return to Halych in the years 1212–1214, and he became the member of Coloman's Halychian retinue after the Treaty of Szepes (*Scepus*) as a person with experience of the local conditions.³⁹

Later, at the time of Prince Andrew's Halychian rule (1226–1234), Hungarian names hardly occurred. In relation to the events of 1231, the chronicler observed

³⁷ Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 288.; Hodinka, *Az orosz évkönyvek*, 312–313.

³⁸ M. Klatý, "Vojvoda Benedikt v kontexte uhorsko-haličských vzťahov prvej tretiny XIII. storočia." *Medea* II. (1998) 76–90, 82–86.

³⁹ Senga, *Benedikt Bor*, 47–49.

that Martinis, the commander of the Hungarian army supporting the prince, had lost his life in the clashes.⁴⁰ Martinis is a variant of Martonos or Márton. The form Martonos is indicated only once, in the case of a certain Márton, who was the count of Körös during the years 1268–1269 and 1274–1275. Thus, we have no evidence regarding the Martinis who fell as Andrew's commander. In the description of the unsuccessful battle fought by Rostislav, the son-in-law of Béla IV, near Yaroslavl, the prince himself is the central figure; the chronicler did not leave record of Hungarian persons.⁴¹

Members of the Elite in Halych

The *HVC* indicates several representatives from among the local boyars, but it is difficult to provide an overview of their careers only on the basis of narrative sources. Thirty boyars, whose names also occur, appear only once in the *HVC*, and another fourteen of them appear twice. In twenty-one cases, the chronicler gives the father's name (*patronymic*) which offers some hope in identifying family ties. Three boyar families (houses, clans) played a leading role: the Arbu-zoviches, Molibogoviches and the Kormilichiches. These are mentioned often, though without personal names: We know the given names of some boyars, and sometimes they acted together which presumably documents kinship.⁴²

Some noblemen were in indirect contact with the Hungarians. They were members of the entourage of the fleeing child princes Daniil and Vasilko, namely Demian, Miroslav and Viacheslav Tolstoy. They served Daniil in particular, and originally his mother. They participated in the 1211 negotiations between Andrew II and Roman's widow, and fled together with the princess and her young children to Hungary and to Poland. At the time that Coloman was at Halych, two of them, Vladislav Vitovich and Lazar Domazhirevich, participated in the fights on one occasion (1219). Their association with the Hungarian ruler was only indirect: members of Danyiil's retinue ousted the former – even his horse was taken from him. The latter was captured by Mstislav Mstislavich.⁴³

Other members of the Halychian elite were also supporting the Hungarian rule. They participated in a number of events and turned up in Hungary: Filip, Sudislav and Vladislav Kormilichich. Filip and Sudislav regularly feature together with members of the house of Kormilichich, and can thus be listed among their followers. Vladislav was the head of the house of Kormilichich, but we are also acquainted with his brothers Yavolod and Yaropolk. In regard to their networks, they took a stance against the Romanovich children (Daniil and

⁴⁰ Клосс, *Ипатьевская летопись*, 749.

⁴¹ Font-Barabás, *Kálmán* 55–60.

⁴² The most up-to-date views regarding the boyars are those of Adrian Jusupović, Jusupović, *Elity ziemi*, here: 60–79.

⁴³ Клосс, *Ипатьевская летопись*, 725, 727–728, 734, 736.; Jusupović, *Elity ziemi*, 118–119, 198–199, 211, 268–269, 288.

Vasilko) at the beginning, and they did not always support the Hungarian rule. For instance, they supported the claims for power of the children of Igor of Chernigov (Roman, Sviatoslav, Rostislav and Vladimir Igorevich), who turned up in Halych in 1208. Vladislav, the head of the house and his supporters (Sudislav, Filip) turned against the Igorevich rule, most likely affected by the large number of executions undertaken against the enemies of the Igoreviches. Vladislav and his companions themselves fled from the execution to Hungary. Following his successful 1211 campaign, Andrew II brought the influential Vladislav to Hungary and imprisoned him in order to quell the boyar opposition. Sudislav, who was another boyar aspiring to power, paid his way out; while we have no evidence relating to their third ally Filip, it is likely that he became the subject of torture.⁴⁴

For decades Sudislav and Vladislav played a part in Halychian events; for the former, this was from the turn of 1211/1212 until his demise in around 1234, and for the latter it was from 1206 until his death. Sudislav partook in the campaigns at the time of Coloman, later representing the interests of Prince Andrew. The *HVC* refers to Sudislav as Bernatovich who led Leszek's forces in 1211–1212; for this reason, his Polish origins seemed unequivocal. Coming from the eastern borderlands, he could have belonged to the group with an interest in the eastward expansion of the Piasts. Jusupović has identified Sudislav as Sulisław, *castellanus* of Sandomierz, and argued that what we have here are two different people with similar names (Sudislav/Sulisław).⁴⁵ One may suspect marriage to be behind Sudislav of Halych's commitment to the Hungarian cause: his daughter may have been the wife of the Hungarian nobleman Füle, given that in a passage of the *HVC* Füle addresses Sudislav as his father-in-law: 'Then Filja retreated with his great host of Hungarians and Poles, taking with him the Galician boyars, his father-in-law, Sudislav, and many others.'⁴⁶ The word *цьть>тесть* means father-in-law, the wife's father.⁴⁷ Hodinka missed this expression in his translation of the text.⁴⁸ Sudislav is undoubtedly one of the most frequently mentioned figures among the Halychian boyars. He had an influence

⁴⁴ Клосс, *Ипатьевская летопись*, 723–724, 727–728.; Грушевський, *Хронологія*, 11–12.; Font, *Árpád-házi királyok*, 199–201.; Jusupović, *Elity ziemi*, 139–141, 243–262.

⁴⁵ Клосс, *Ипатьевская летопись*, 725.; А. В. Майоров, *Галицко-Волынская Русь. Очерки социально-политических отношений в домонгольский период. Князь, бояре и городская община*. Санкт-Петербург 2001, 362–366.; Jusupović, *Elity ziemi*, 243–262, 276–287.; Jusupović, *Wpływ Halickiego otoczenia*, 147.

⁴⁶ «изыиде же Филя со многими Оугры и Ляхы из Галича пойма бояре Галичкыя и Судислава цътяи Лозоря и инны» In: Клосс, *Ипатьевская летопись*, 736.; English translation: *The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*. ed., transl., comm., G. Perfecky, München 1973. 26. Regarding the latter, see Пашуто, *Очерки*, 143.; Ё. Харди, *Наследники Киева. Између краљевске круне и татарског јарма*. Нови Сад 2002, 143.; Jusupović, *Elity ziemi*, 245–246.

⁴⁷ И. И. Срезневский, *Материалы для словаря древне-русского языка по письменным памятникам*. I–III. Санктпетербургъ 1893–1903, III. 1089–1090, 1445.

⁴⁸ Hodinka, *Az orosz évkönyvek*, 343.

over many Halychian centres and created contacts with some Hungarian nobles. Sudislav must have had a considerable wealth, for he escaped Hungarian captivity with a ransom.⁴⁹ He was instrumental, in creating the peace between Andrew II and Prince Mstislav Mstislavich who cooperated with the Cumans; he was also influential in the marriage between Prince Andrew and Mstislav's daughter. In 1234, after Prince Andrew's death, he left Halych and once again set out for Hungary.⁵⁰ There is no doubt that both Sudislav and his son-in-law Füle promoted the efforts of the Hungarian royal court, but they did not influence the Hungarian elite. The possibility that Füle was identical with the vice-palatine appearing in 1220 cannot be excluded, though his presence in Halych makes this somewhat uncertain.⁵¹ Nonetheless, this does not provide sufficient grounds to list him among the Hungarian elite, far less so Sudislav. We consider untenable Voloshchuk's idea to connect the name Sudislav with the Hungarian name of Sebes (Sebeslav and Szoboszló), and with the house of Ludány. Voloshchuk did not examine the material on Hungarian personal names, and so did not take into consideration that the name Sebes (and its variants: Sebe, Sebökö) is the shortened Hungarian form of the name Sebestyén (Sebastian).⁵² I consider the starting point to be misleading, and so his argumentation is untenable.

The house of Kormilichich deserves attention in itself, as the name derives not from a personal name but a dignity. The original meaning of the verb *kormiti* is 'to nourish', but by the 12th century we encounter the form *kormlenie* meaning 'nourishment'. The latter referred to the payment in kind to the reigning prince. In connection to this, the *kormilec* was an official organising provisions of the princely court and occasionally caring for the education of the children. In certain regions of the Rus, the role of the *kormilec* overlapped with the responsibilities of the *diad'ko* ('pedagogue'). In other parts of Europe, this would roughly be the equivalent of the Latin *tutor*, *nutritor*, *paedagogus*, possibly *magister dapiferorum*. Essentially, it was the most important personage in the ruler's court.⁵³ In this light, Vladislav and his brothers were the descendants of once

⁴⁹ Клосс, *Ипатьевская летопись*, 728.

⁵⁰ Клосс, *Ипатьевская летопись*, 750, 771.

⁵¹ Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 302.

⁵² Волощук, «Русь», 284-301.; Волощук, "Iobagio Zubuslaus de villa Chercher castri de Ung, онуки боярина Судислава та проблема етнічно ідентифікації населення східних комитатів Угорщини в XI-XIII століттях," *Княжа доба* (2013) 39-48.; K. Fehértói, *Árpád-kori személynévtár (1000-1301)*. [Inventory of Personal Names from the Árpadian Era (1000-1301)] Budapest 2004. 700-701.

⁵³ И. Я. Фроянов, *Киевская Русь. Очерки социально-экономической истории*. Ленинград 1974, 64-65.; U. Halbach, *Der russische Fürstenhof vor dem 16. Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart 1985, 146-159., esp. 155, 159.; M. Font, *Oroszország, Ukrajna, Rusz*. [Russia, Ukraine, Rus] Budapest 1998, 74-75.; Майоров, *Галицко-Волынская Русь*, 419.; *Az orosz történelmi források terminológiája*. [Terminology of the Russian Historical Sources] ed. M. Ágoston, Szombathely 2004, 58, 87.

influential individuals in the royal court and hoped to secure positions that would reflect this.

Vladislav's role has been reassessed by Alexander Mayorov, who examined the fanciful ideas that have become prominent in Russian-Ukrainian historical scholarship.⁵⁴ Mayorov explained Vladislav's central role with his inherited office. He concludes that Vladislav was the spokesman of those Halychian boyars who opposed the Peremyshl faction. Mayorov further emphasises that Vladislav and the other Halychian-Volynian nobles did not strive to become princes; they instead committed themselves to one or another individual – in this case the Hungarian king – making a bid for the principality. Pashuto had already broached the idea that Vladislav had been the same person as the *Ladislaus Ruthenus* referred to in Hungarian documents whose vineyard had entered the possession of János, Archbishop of Esztergom sometime after 1218.⁵⁵ On the basis of the structure of the document, Szentpétery has established that the donation was only set down in writing between 1221 and 1225 as a result of Andrew II's journey to the Holy Land; this was some time later than the actual gifting occurred.⁵⁶ After *Ladislaus Ruthenus*' estate became the property of the Archbishop of Esztergom in around 1218, there is no further evidence about him until 1232, when he is said to be deceased. It is not tenable to date the time of Vladislav/*Ladislaus Ruthenus*' death to 1231/1232; this is merely *terminus ante quem*. I suggest that it had already occurred in the 1220s.⁵⁷

Among the referred persons, Gleb Zeremeyich was also one of Prince Andrew's Halychian supporters. He also had a role in negotiating the marriage of the younger daughter of Mistislav to Andrew; Jusupović holds the view that Gleb belonged to Sudislav's circle.⁵⁸ The Polish writer claims the same for 'Red' (Chermnyj) Semiushko, at whose advice Prince Andrew returned home from Peremyshl in 1226 to request military aid for the acquisition of the entire Halychian territory together with the fortress of Halych.⁵⁹ We have no evidence concerning the activities of either Gleb Zeremeyich or Semiushko after 1234. It can equally be supposed that they lost their lives in fighting or that they entered the service of Daniil. Jusupović assumes the latter regarding Gleb, as we have some information about him before he entered the service of Prince Andrew. Semiushko's activities are attested after his appearance in the entourage of Prince Andrew and Sudislav. This is the basis for Jusupović's claim that

⁵⁴ Майоров, *Галицко-Волынская Русь*, 408–436.

⁵⁵ *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae*. ed. R. Marsina, Bratislavae, 1971–1987, I. 180.; for the dating, see Szentpétery-Borsa, *Regesta*, I. 116. № 350.; *Codex diplomaticus* III/2. 310.; В. Т. Пашуто, *Внешняя политика Древней Руси*. Москва 1968, 244.; Font, *Árpád-házikirályok*, 104–105.

⁵⁶ *Codex diplomaticus* III/2. 310.; Marsina, *Codex diplomaticus* I. 180.; for the dating, see Szentpétery-Borsa, *Regesta*, I. 116. № 350; identification Пашуто, *Внешняя политика*, 244.; Font, *Árpád-házikirályok*, 104–105.

⁵⁷ Jusupović, *Elity ziemi*, 276–287.; Волощук, «Русь» 145–174.

⁵⁸ Кюсс, *Ипатьевская летопись*, 750.; Jusupović, *Elity ziemi*, 151–157. here 152.

⁵⁹ Кюсс, *Ипатьевская летопись*, 748.; Jusupović, *Elity ziemi*, 238–240.

Semiushko may even have departed with Sudislav to Hungary. The boyar Zhiroslav, who joined to Prince Andrew in 1226, promoted the cooperation between the princely commander Mstislav and the Hungarians. Zhiroslav was last mentioned in 1227.⁶⁰

Conclusions

The more intensive Hungarian presence and the increased amount of source material allow us to study the 13th-century elite in Halych in greater detail. In the first eight years of campaigns (1205–1213), Andrew II's Halychian retinue consisted of those who held major offices in the Hungarian Kingdom and court. A number of persons appeared in Halych who held the highest rank in Hungary, that of the palatine. The name of Mog – in 1206 palatine for the third time – occurred in the sources for the last time between 1208 and 1210 as count of Pozsony. Mog embarked upon his career in 1185, his name did not mention in charters after 1210, he probably died. The last known office of the palatine Pat (1209–1212) was the county of Moson from 1214 to 1215. Bánk, besides being the count a number of times, was twice ban, and in 1212–1213 palatine. His last offices were that of the curial count in 1221–1222 in addition to the count of the counties of Fejér, Újvár and Bodrog. Subsequently, the highest-ranking dignitaries ceased to participate in the military operations around Halych. Dénes, son of Dénes, of the house of Türje (palatine in 1245–1246 and 1248), as well as Lőrinc, son of Kemény, (palatine in 1267–1269 and in 1272) did participate in the Halychian clashes, but not when they held these offices. Dénes, son of Dénes, participated in the 1230 and 1231 campaigns as the courtier of Prince Béla when, obeying the command of Béla's father, he joined the army of the kingdom. Dénes held no office at this time; he was rewarded later by the king, Béla IV (r. 1235–1270), for his participation in the Halychian campaigns and for other services. When Lőrinc was a young man without office, he joined the army of Béla's son-in-law Rostislav in his bid to rule Halych. His merits were listed in a later diploma.⁶¹ I do not accept the hypothesis that Füle (File) occupied the office of vice-palatine in 1220, since 1219 he was residing in Halych the court of Prince Coloman.⁶²

From 1214, the men in the princely court came to the forefront. The best-known of these individuals, and the person whose service was the most enduring in both the Halychian and Slavonian courts of Coloman, was the master carver Demeter, son of Aba of the house of Sükösd (1216–1234). In Transylvania, the fate of Pál son of Écs of the house of Geregye was similar to that of Demeter in the court of Prince Béla. He participated in the 1230 unsuccessful siege

⁶⁰ Ключ, *Ипатьевская летопись*, 750.; Jusupović, *Elity ziemi*, 299–303.

⁶¹ Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 296. (Dénes), 324. (Lőrinc)

⁶² Font, *Felvidéki kisnemesek*; The only exception is Demeter, master carver to the prince.

of Halych, but his career only began to rise from 1238.⁶³ As far as we know, Füle was the only one to partake in the military manoeuvres during the kingship of Coloman and who also participated in the 1245 campaign supporting Béla IV's son-in-law. His motivations were doubtless familial and stemmed from the Halychian origins of his wife.

Based on the diplomas of Andrew II,⁶⁴ it is worth observing that among those fighting in Halych, the ones with more humble origin were rewarded. From the persons belonging to the royal court, only Nána of the house of Nána-beszter was donated as he functioned as the *procurator* and *provisor* of the king's horses. We are also only aware of a single title, that of the count from 1221, in the case of Tamás son of Makariás of the house of Monoszló. For the families of castle warriors (*iobagiones castri*), or for royal servants (*servientes regis*), a royal gift had greater weight and acquiring merits in Halych was more important. The original interest (1205–1211) shown by the elite of the royal court in the wake of the failures began to wane, and the task of exercising dynastic clout was devolved to the princely court(s). In deference to his father (*de mandato et voluntate patris*), Prince Béla partook in the campaigns of 1230–1231, only rewarding the men of his retinue at a later date, once crowned, and when the fighting in Halych was only an episode in their service.

The Hungarian royal authority's bid to spread over the territory of Halych in the form of a principality eventually ended in failure. Prince Coloman retained the title of King of Halych as governor of Slavonia, but took no further part in Halychian matters. There is no record of Hungarians participating in the Halychian rule of Prince Andrew, because his own death and that of his father occurred in quick succession (1234 and 1235), and Béla would not have found it important to reward the followers of his deceased brother.

I suggest that the Halychian nobles who supported Hungarian rule considered the Hungarian king's (and his sons') bid for territorial expansion an equal counterpart of any similar efforts made by Rus princelings. Insofar as it is possible to draw conclusions from the narrative evidence of the *HVC*, the Halychian nobles joined the Hungarian prince's court or that of a Rus prince to elevate their own prestige and to gain a degree of stability in their position. Exceptions were Vladislav, who acquired a small estate in Hungary, and Sudislav, who was connected with family ties to the Hungarian landowning stratum. However, they did not enter the Hungarian elite.

⁶³ Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 341.

⁶⁴ See Table 1, No. 2–10.

Jacques Bongars et ses *Rerum Hungaricarum scriptores varii* (1600), premier recueil de sources de l'Histoire de Hongrie¹

ILDIKÓ GAUSZ*



*The article focuses on a preamble written in Latin by the late Renaissance humanist and diplomat Jacques Bongars. The preliminary of the volume *Rerum Hungaricarum scriptores varii*, the first Hungarian historical source collection, explores the Hungarian People's origin and the history of the Hungarian Kingdom. The author links Bongars, the central figure in sixteenth-seventeenth-century Central Europe, to the European information networks, as well as to Hungarian Humanist circles, and draws a parallel between his source collection and Matthias Bel's work. By analysing the volume impacts, Jacques Bongars is presented as the foundation stone of Hungarian historiography.*

Homme politique et homme savant sont, dès l'origine de l'Histoire, fortement liés l'un à l'autre. On peut aisément le prouver pour les membres de la République des Lettres, outils indispensables de la diplomatie, en considérant leur capacité rhétorique qui élargit leur horizon culturel. Cependant à la fin du 16^e siècle, par rapport aux siècles précédents, de nouvelles particularités lient la diplomatie et le monde savant: l'émergence des frontières nationales, des États modernes, donc de la politique internationale, font nécessairement naître l'institution d'envoyés permanents. C'est une révolution diplomatique: la présence d'agents délégués obéit à la nécessité du dialogue entre États, dans un espace politique où les membres de l'humanisme tardif de la République des Lettres sont les représentants engagés des intérêts

¹ Communication réalisée par la bourse d'études REB-16-1-KUTATÁS du Comité du souvenir de la réformation de l'État hongrois.

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nationaux.² Nous justifierons ces thèses, formulées de manière générale, en partant de l'exemple de Jacques Bongars, envoyé permanent d'Henri IV auprès des princes protestants allemands, ainsi qu'en analysant son réseau d'informations et son recueil de sources préhistoriques et historiques hongroises. Le point de départ de notre réflexion sera le texte préliminaire de cette collection, *Rerum Hungaricarum scriptores varii*, écrit en latin sur l'origine des Hongrois, transformant le destin de ce peuple en une horrification pour les autres nations.

Jacques Bongars naquit à Orléans, en 1554, dans une famille de la noblesse,³ par tradition au service du roi jusqu'à la génération de ses parents, son père s'étant converti à la religion réformée. Leurs armes étaient «*écartelées au 1. et 4. d'or à un pélican sur son nid, au 2. et 3. d'or à cinq besans rayés en fasce 3 et 4.*»⁴ Ce blason ancestral dénote, s'il nécessaire, leur attachement profond à la dynastie, où l'iconographie du pélican réchauffant ses poussins figure la défense et le sacrifice. L'étymologie du nom de famille laisse déduire le même motif, et l'oiseau en tant que «bonne garde» peut être défini comme le symbole graphique du serviteur engagé.⁵ À la fois par crainte de la persécution religieuse et par la volonté de lui donner une éducation réformée, Jacques fut envoyé par ses parents en Allemagne à l'âge de dix ans, et fréquenta les écoles de Heidelberg, Marburg, Strasbourg. Les cahiers d'écolier du jeune Bongars avec ses notes sur les auteurs antiques⁶ se trouvent toujours dans l'amas de documents sources (aujourd'hui majoritairement à Berne, à Paris, à Hambourg).⁷ À l'école cathédrale de Bourges, berceau d'une grande génération de philologues et d'historiens,⁸ célèbre pour ses méthodes de critique philologique appliquées aux sources romaines, il suivit des études de droit à partir de 1576 où il fréquenta les cours de Jacques Cujas (1522-1590), spécialiste

² Sur l'engagement politique des hommes de lettres de l'humanisme tardif voir R. Kohndorfer-Fries, *Diplomatie und Gelehrtenrepublik. Die Kontakte des französischen Gesandten Jaques Bongars (1554-1612)*. Frühe Neuzeit. Studien und Dokumente zur deutschen Literatur und Kultur im europäischen Kontext. 137. Tübingen 2009, 37-42.

³ Sur la biographie plus détaillée de Jacques Bongars voir I. Gausz, "Végvármustra francia módra: Jacques Bongars a magyarországi császári-királyi határvédelmi rendszerről (1585)," [Observation de fortifications du type français. Jacques Bongars sur le système de défense aux confins germano-hongrois.] *Aetas* 31:2 (2016), 133-134.

⁴ L. Anquez, *Henri IV et l'Allemagne d'après les mémoires et la correspondance de Jacques Bongars*. Paris 1887, XIV.

⁵ Kohndorfer-Fries, *Diplomatie und Gelehrtenrepublik*, 19-20.

⁶ Burgerbibliothek Bern, Cod. 492-494.

⁷ Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Fr. 7125-7132; Burgerbibliothek Bern Cod. 42A, 139, 140, 141, 143, 149B; Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, *Supellex epistolica* 13, 29-32, 46, 60, 94.

⁸ Tous les grands juristes de la génération suivante fréquentèrent cette université, entre autres Pierre du Faur de Saint-Jory, Antoine Loysel, les frères Pithou, Étienne du Pasquier, Jacques-Auguste de Thou, Joseph Scaliger.

de droit romain, dont il devient le correcteur.⁹ Sa formation s'acheva à Rome et à Leyde au terme d'un cursus typique de la formation des humanistes tardifs. C'est à cette époque qu'il fit la connaissance des membres célèbres de la *respublica litteraria*, par exemple Fulvio Orsini (1529-1600), bibliothécaire du cardinal Alexandre Farnèse et Stephanus Arator (1540-1612), humaniste hongrois à Rome¹⁰ ou Juste Lipse (1547-1606), philologue flamand à Leyde. Il débattit entre autres choses avec celui-ci sur sa première publication, commentaires des *Historiae Philippicae* de Justin, historiographe latin du 3^e siècle, parues en 1581.

En 1585, selon toute probabilité déjà au service d'Henri de Navarre et des calvinistes français,¹¹ Bongars accompagna une ambassade de Vienne à Constantinople.¹² Pour imposer sa légitimité au trône de France, Henri de Navarre avait, dès le début des années 1580, cherché des alliés chez les protestants étrangers. Ses envoyés auprès des princes protestants dans l'Empire devaient tâcher d'obtenir leurs soutiens financiers et stratégiques, et telle fut la mission de Jacques Bongars aussi jusqu'à l'accord engagé avec l'Union protestante en 1610. Au cours des deux décennies durant lesquelles il fut l'envoyé permanent d'Henri IV, il tenta sans relâche de réaliser l'alliance de la France et des princes protestants contre la Maison de Habsbourg. La division entre les États protestants fidèles à l'Empereur, réunis autour de la Saxe, et les États calvinistes regroupés autour de l'Électeur palatin, entrava ce projet. À cause de la menace directe, l'Électorat de Saxe fut le principal adhérent de la politique impériale contre les Turcs, alors que l'intérêt de cette cause faiblissait vers les frontières occidentales de l'Empire. Mettant à profit sa connaissance du protestantisme allemand, Bongars sut servir de médiateur entre ces partis opposés, dans un conflit interne à l'Empire, ou dans la dispute du chapitre de Strasbourg. Sa relation de confiance avec le roi devint plus formelle après la conversion définitive d'Henri IV au catholicisme (1593); il se fit plus critique envers la politique royale,¹³ restant toutefois un pilier essentiel de sa

⁹ *Juristischen Exzerpten*, Burgerbibliothek Bern, Cod. 149.

¹⁰ I. Monok, "A bázeli, a genfi és a zürichi könyvkiadás hatása a magyarországi szellemi áramlatok történetének alakulására a 16. században a kortárs könyvtárak vizsgálata tükrében," [L'influence de l'édition de livres à Bâle, Genève et Zürich sur l'évolution des courants intellectuels hongrois au 16^e siècle en fonction d'études de bibliothèques contemporaines] In: *Kezembe vészem, olvasom és arról elmélkedem*, éd. B. Gáborjáni Szabó, R. Oláh, Debrecen 2015, 163.

¹¹ Au milieu de l'année 1598 Bongars écrivit à Henri IV: «Il y a treize ans, que je continue le service de V. M. sans autre deßain, que de la servir.» Cod. 7128. 3. fol. 5r.

¹² Sur les postes frontaliers atteints lors de son voyage aux confins orientaux de l'Empire, voir Gausz, *Végvármustra francia módra*, 133-144.

¹³ À partir de 1606, la correspondance de Bongars exhale de plus en plus ouvertement un ton amer, voir *Lettres de Jacques de Bongars, résident et ambassadeur du roi Henri IV vers les électeurs, princes et états protestants de l'Allemagne*. La Haye 1695, *passim*.

diplomatie. Le secrétaire d'État aux Affaires étrangères, Nicolas de Neufville, marquis de Villeroy (1542-1617), ne cessa de réclamer des renseignements sur l'Empire, fournis par le réseau de Bongars. En fin de compte, aux négociations finales avec l'Union protestante qui auraient pu être l'apogée de la carrière politico-diplomatique de Bongars, Henri IV dépêcha un autre diplomate, Jean-Robert de Thumery, seigneur de Boissise (1549-1622). Le nom de ce dernier apparaît sur le document du traité d'Ahausen, signé entre les États protestants allemands et Henri IV à Schwäbisch Hall, le 12 février 1610. Le même jour, Bongars remit sa démission au roi.¹⁴

Jacques Bongars ne fut pas seulement un fidèle diplomate du roi de France, il fut aussi un humaniste réputé, dont le nom figure dans tous les dictionnaires biographiques allemands et français jusqu'à la fin du 17^e siècle.¹⁵ Consacrant ses rares moments de liberté à des activités scientifiques, il édita deux collections de sources historiques,¹⁶ en 1600 *Rerum Hungaricarum scriptores varii* et en 1611 un recueil des historiens des croisades, *Gesta Dei per Francos* chez les héritiers d'André Wechel. S'il constitua une grande bibliothèque à partir des fonds des abbayes pillées par les protestants, il dépensa aussi de fortes sommes pour acquérir des œuvres dépitées sans relâche. Le 19 janvier 1604, il écrivit à un de ses amis qu'il voulait rechercher les restes de la bibliothèque de Jacques Cujas: «lors qu'il s'agit d'avoir des livres, ni la peine ni la dépense ne m'est rien».¹⁷ La bibliothèque ainsi constituée servit non seulement à son travail, mais il l'ouvrit aussi aux recherches de ses contemporains. Les volumes empruntés des collections des cercles humanistes lui parvinrent de la même manière, comme par exemple un codex appartenant à Jean Sambucus, humaniste et philologue hongrois, qui avec la mort de Bongars enrichit pour toujours les fonds de la

¹⁴ Bongars à Villeroy, 12 février 1610, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Fr. 15922 fol. 56: «Je me suys toujours cognu fort mal propre au service des grands Princes. Aussi Monsieur ne m'y suyvie jamais ingère. Je n'y suys point de propos delibere. Les vents et les vagues en une fascheuse mer. J'ay de sire et tasché plusieurs fois de m'en retirer, et je l'ay sollicité mesmes apres la fureur de nos tempestes passées, voyant plusieurs personnes mieux faites a ce metier que moy. Je ne scay quel malheur m'y a arresté si longtemps, et m'y a reporté nagueres quasi insensiblement. Mais n'ayant jamais cherche en servant le Roy que le service du Roy. Le Roy, ny vous Monsieur, ne l'avez jamais trouvé mauvais, hors mis l'affaire de Sedan, auquel je confesse avoir trop excedé. Je n'ay point vue que Sa Majesté ou vous Monsieur vous dessiez offencer de ce que j'ay escrit de Dusseldorf. Puy que j'en ay fait la faulte, J'en demande pardon, et puy que mon meschant naturel ne me donne point faut de pouvoir sur moy, que j'en puisses esperer de l'amendement je suis inutile au Roy et aux miens [...]. Je vous supplie tres humblement et tres affectueusement Monsieur, que je puisse faire ma retraite [...]»

¹⁵ Voir, par exemple, P. Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*. Rotterdam 1697, 624-625.; C. Gottlieb, *Allgemeines Gelehrtenlexikon*. Leipzig 1750, 1229.

¹⁶ *Rerum Hungaricarum scriptores varii. Historici, geographici*. Francofurti 1600.; *Gesta Dei per Francos*. Hanau 1611.

¹⁷ Voir *Lettres de Jacques de Bongars*, 1695, 99.

Bibliotheca Bongarsiana.¹⁸ Joachim Camerarius, Isaac Casaubon, Janus Gruter, Joseph Scaliger, Jean Sambucus et beaucoup d'autres utilisèrent les manuscrits dans la propriété de Bongars pour leurs éditions de textes dont la majorité furent également imprimés chez les héritiers d'André Wechel¹⁹ d'une part à Francfort, d'autre part à Hanau.²⁰ D'après les signatures de lettres de Bongars on peut voir qu'il séjourna souvent à Francfort, point central d'informations. Parmi les héritiers des éditions Wechel, c'est avec l'imprimeur libraire calviniste, Claude de Marne (?–1610), gendre d'André Wechel, qu'il fut en meilleure relation, il lui rendit régulièrement visite dans sa maison de Francfort et il lui demanda de transmettre à Prague ses lettres à Guillaume Ancel. De ses connaissances il recommanda plusieurs à son éditeur, ainsi par exemple Pierre Pithou, Joachim Camerarius le Jeune, ou Juste Lipse lui durent leurs œuvres parues chez l'éditeur. Il partagea ses expériences, ses conseils avec ses amis savants. On sait par exemple qu'il aida Gottfried Jungermann, correcteur chez Wechel, dans ses éditions savantes de texte de César,²¹ et qu'il prêta une attention particulière aux éditions de grammairiens latins par le philologue néerlandais Helias Putschius.²² En même temps, sa situation diplomatique permit à quelques éditions sous son patronage de jouir de la protection du roi de France. Sa correspondance couvrant toute l'Europe nous informe sur la situation qu'il occupait au sein de la *respublica litteraria* dans laquelle d'autres eurent également une place, comme Jacques-Auguste de Thou, Isaac Casaubon, Joseph Justus Scaliger et Denis Godefroy en France, Juste Lipse aux Pays-Bas, William Camden en Angleterre, Joachim Camerarius le Jeune, Georg Michael Lingelsheim, Janus Gruter et l'humaniste hongrois Albert Szenci Molnár²³ au Saint-Empire romain. Sa relation avec celui-ci est révélée par une dédicace laconique, tronquée par le relieur du *Lexicon Latino-Graeco-*

¹⁸ Monok, *A bázei, a genfi és a zürichi könyvkiadás*, 162.

¹⁹ Sur sa relation avec les éditions voir A. Labarre, "Éditions et privilèges des héritiers d'André Wechel à Francfort et à Hanau: 1582-1627," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1970), 238–250.

²⁰ Le 26 juillet 1606 Bongars écrivit à un de ses amis: «Si vous avez quelque nouvelle à me mander et si vous désirez de moi quelque chose, vous pourrez envoyer vos lettres à Francfort chez Malperte ou chez Marnius, Imprimeur.» Voir *Lettres de Jacques de Bongars*, 1695, 103.

²¹ *C. Julii Caesaris quae exstant ex nupera viri docti [J. J. Scaligeri]... recognitione. Accedit nunc vetus interpres graecus librorum VII de bello Gallico, ex bibliotheca P. Petavii. Editio adornata opera et studio Gothofredi Iungermani.* Francofurti 1606.

²² *Grammaticae Latinae auctores antiqui [...] opera & studio Heliae Putschii.* Hanouiae 1605.

²³ Sur la relation entre Albert Szenci Molnár et Bongars voir J. Vásárhelyi, *Eszmei áramlatok és politika Szenci Molnár Albert életművében*. [Courants idéologiques et politiques dans l'œuvre d'Albert Szenci Molnár] *Humanizmus és reformáció*, 12. Budapest 1985, 21–22.; K. Teszelszky, *Szenci Molnár Albert elveszettnek hitt Igaz Vallás portréja*. [La vraie religion, portrait perdu d'Albert Szenci Molnár] Budapest 2014, 73.

Hungaricum de Szenci Molnár, conservé à Berne.²⁴ La correspondance savante de Bongars est aussi importante que son courrier politique, car l'échange d'informations politiques pouvait côtoyer l'échange érudit. Les correspondants avaient à leur tour leurs propres réseaux, si bien qu'ils transmettaient à Bongars les informations politiques qu'ils recueillaient. D'autres personnes se rattachaient indirectement de cette façon au réseau de Bongars; il rassemblait ainsi des informations parvenant des points nodaux qu'étaient Vienne, Prague, Londres, Paris, Venise, et en faisait usage pour lui-même ou pour d'autres. Il eut même l'idée de compléter les informations issues de Francfort, la ville luthérienne peu fiable de l'Empire par des réseaux confessionnels d'orientation calviniste.

Soit calvinistes, soit relevant tous de ce milieu, les personnes évoluant autour de Bongars partagent nécessairement une vision commune du monde. Conséquence de la discrimination partielle où ils se trouvaient, les calvinistes étaient particulièrement politisés vers 1600, et travaillaient au triomphe de leurs intérêts à travers toute l'Europe. Et surtout on ne doit pas oublier que Bongars entretenait des liens avec toute une série d'entrepreneurs de confession réformée:²⁵ l'acheminement de la correspondance diplomatique mais aussi savante se déroulait la plupart du temps par l'intermédiaire de familles de marchands ayant un rayonnement international. Ainsi, dans le cas des réseaux d'information autour de Bongars, il est plus exact de parler d'orientation politique identique, ou d'ensemble de contrepoids aux forces favorables aux Habsbourg, plutôt que d'un attachement confessionnel. Qu'il nous soit permis de citer trois de ses informateurs pour illustrer cette idée. L'un de ses correspondants les plus importants fut Georg Michael Lingelsheim (1556-1636), conseiller des Électeurs palatins Frédéric IV, et Frédéric V. Originaire de la minorité réformée de Strasbourg, il fut vers 1600 l'un des hommes politiques qui déterminèrent l'opposition de l'Électorat palatin aux Habsbourg avant la guerre de Trente Ans, et l'un de ceux qui poussèrent le plus à une alliance protestante où entreraient la France et l'Angleterre. Bongars et Lingelsheim discutèrent aussi dans leur correspondance de projets d'édition, d'échanges de livres ou de manuscrits²⁶ et naturellement conférèrent également

²⁴ «Viro Magnifico & Nobilissimo Dn. J(ac) Bongarsio, ac humilis observantiae e ... offert & ... ddat Alb. Molnar, Aut(or)» Voir *Universitätsbibliothek Bern*, MUE Bong IV 220.; Voir Gy. Gömöri, "Szenci Molnár Albert album- és könyvbejegyzései külföldi gyűjteményekben," [Les dédicaces d'albums et de livres d'Albert Szenci Molnár dans les collections étrangères] *Magyar Könyvszemle* 95:1 (1979), 376.

²⁵ L'un des correspondants les plus puissants de Bongars était le marchand néerlandais Daniel van der Meulen. Sur son rôle, voir K. Tesselkszky, "Magyarország és Erdély képe Németalföldön a Bocskai-felkelés és Bethlen Gábor hadjáratai idején 1604-1626," [L'image de la Hongrie et de la Transylvanie aux Pays-Bas à l'époque du soulèvement de Bocskai et des campagnes de Gábor Bethlen, 1604-1626] In: : *Bethlen Gábor és Európa*, éd. G. Kármán, K. Tesselkszky, Budapest 2013, 212.

²⁶ *Jacobi Bongarsii et Georgii Michaelis Lingelshemii epistolae*. Argentorati 1660, *passim*.

du rôle du Palatinat électoral, plus important partenaire éventuel de la France au sein de l'Empire. Bongars répercuta auprès de Villeroy aussi bien les informations qu'il tenait directement de Lingelsheim que celui-ci avait acquises d'autres sources, d'autant plus parce que les conseillers du Palatinat électoral étaient particulièrement bien renseignés sur l'évolution de l'Angleterre. Du coup, Bongars lui-même influença les avis rédigés par les conseillers palatins hostiles aux Habsbourg et eut une emprise indirecte sur les décisions prises dans l'Empire. L'érudit de Nuremberg, le médecin-botaniste Joachim Camerarius le Jeune (1534-1598),²⁷ membre incontournable de la *respublica litteraria* fut un autre correspondant majeur de Jacques Bongars. Camerarius disposait d'un réseau de correspondants qui comprenait aussi bien des philologues et des historiens que de puissants acteurs politiques.²⁸ Sa maison de Nuremberg était un point de rencontre de savants, de médecins, d'alchimistes et d'astrologues, le plus souvent réformés, qui faisaient étape chez lui sur la route vers la Bohême, la Moravie ou la Silésie. Les rapports de Bongars au roi de France sur ces parties de l'Empire ou bien ses informations sur la Pologne, la Hongrie ou l'Empire ottoman, reposaient sur les sources de Camerarius. Enfin, politique et diplomate, central dans l'affaire protestante et nœud des informations protestantes, Jacques de Thou (1533-1617) fut de même en lien avec les réseaux d'information de Bongars. L'historien catholique fut tolérant envers les protestants, représenta une ligne strictement anti Habsbourg et anticatholique, et de même exhorta à la création d'une union protestante contre les Habsbourg en Europe. Bien que certains aient contesté la sincérité de Thou, fervent dans sa foi catholique, il ne s'engagea à aucun parti politique et resta un philosophe libéral fidèle à Henri III. Cette indépendance d'esprit lui valut quelques démêlés avec l'autorité ecclésiastique: en 1609, son *Historia sui temporis* fut mise à l'index. La fiabilité de ses informations repose en partie sur ses positions occupées, ses relations illustres à la Cour, et en partie sur son réseau étranger étendu, surtout allemand et vénitien, où Jacques Bongars occupa le rôle de correspondant des événements sur l'Est et le Nord de l'Europe.²⁹ C'est grâce aux renseignements de Bongars que De Thou fut sans doute le premier historien français à avoir traité l'histoire de la Hongrie de façon très large et détaillée.³⁰ Sa monumentale *Histoire Universelle* parut

²⁷ *Viri Illustres Jacobi Bongarsii[i] Epistolæ Ad Joachimum Camerarium, Medicum ac Philosophum Celeberrimum scriptæ, Et Historicis ac Politicis documentis instructæ. Nunc primum edita.* Lvgd. Batavorum 1647.

²⁸ Jean Sambucus, l'humaniste hongrois constamment en voyage eut une place importante parmi les correspondants de Joachim Camerarius. Voir H. Gerstinger, "Johannes Sambucus als Handschriftensammler," In: *Festschrift der Nationalbibliothek in Wien zur Feier des 200 jährigen Bestehens des Gebäudes*, Wien 1926, 251-400.

²⁹ Anquez, *Henri IV et l'Allemagne*, LXXI-LXXIII.

³⁰ C. Michaud, "Jacques-Auguste de Thou, historien de la Hongrie," In: *A tudomány szolgálatában. Emlékkönyv Benda Kálmán 80. születésnapjára*, dir. F. Glatz, Budapest 1993, 63.

d'abord en latin de 1604 à 1608, puis elle fut traduite partiellement en français en 1659³¹ et totalement en 1734.³²

Tous les représentants de la République des Lettres s'occupèrent du sort de la Hongrie, théâtre de luttes incessantes contre les Turcs et Bongars lui-même s'y intéressa particulièrement durant sa carrière diplomatique. Il en résulta les *Rerum Hungaricarum scriptores varii*,³³ premier recueil de sources de l'Histoire de Hongrie qui peut être interprété comme la suite de son journal de Constantinople (1585), sur la page de titre duquel on trouve cette définition du contenu du travail «Différents auteurs de l'Histoire de la Hongrie: historiographes, géographes. La plupart évoqués des éditions anciennes, mais déjà tombées dans l'oubli, certains édités pour la première fois maintenant. Les auteurs sont présentés sur la page suivant la préface. Index des auteurs cités, des mots peu connus, et des événements mémorables ajouté».³⁴ Si des sources d'histoire hongroise furent déjà éditées par des philologues étrangers, Bongars fut le premier à se fixer comme but la collection des sources historiques hongroises.³⁵ Il fit paraître quatre œuvres³⁶ complètement inédites jusqu'alors, et plusieurs difficilement accessibles;³⁷ de plus, il publia dans l'appendice de son volume les épigraphes romaines collectées lors de son voyage en Transylvanie. Son œuvre est restée pendant presque 150 ans le seul recueil monumental et méthodique des sources

³¹ *Histoire de M. de Thou, des choses arrivées de son temps, mise en François par P. Du Ryer.* 3 vols. Paris 1659.

³² J.-A. De Thou, *Histoire Universelle depuis 1543 jusqu'en 1607 traduite de l'édition latine.* 16 vols. Londres 1734.

³³ J. Bongars, ed. *Rerum Hungaricarum scriptores varii. Historici, geographici.* Francofurti 1600.

³⁴ *Rerum Hungaricarum scriptores varii – Historici, geographici. Ex veteribus plerique, sed iam fugientibus editionibus revocati: Quidam nunc primum editi. Auctores exhibet pagina a praefatione proxima. Indices additi auctorum quos illi citant, vocum minus frequentium, & rerum memorabilium.*

³⁵ Sur le recueil de Bongars, voir B. Hóman, *A forráskutatás és forráskritika története.* [Histoire de la recherche et de la critique des sources] Budapest 1925, 6.; G. Birkás, *A magyarság francia barátai régen és most.* [Les amis français des Hongrois autrefois et aujourd'hui] Pécs 1936, 7.; E. Bartóniek, *Fejezetek a XVI-XVII. századi magyarországi történetírás történetéből.* [Abrégés de l'Histoire de l'historiographie hongroise du 16^e et 17^e siècle] Budapest 1975, 220–221.

³⁶ *Regis Hungariae Matthiae nuptiae & coronatio Reginae; Regnum Hungariae ex optimis auctoribus explicata Genealogia; Chorographia Transylvaniae; Appendix ad res Hungaricas, in qua inscriptiones Transylvaniae veteres nonnullae & Annales exscripti de Templis Leutschoviensi & Coronensi.*

³⁷ Les auteurs parus sont Johannes de Thurocz, Johannes of Küküllő, Roger de Varadin, Pietro Ransano, l'évêque Hartvik (avec la préface de Lorenz Sauer), Filip Callimachus (avec la préface de Giovanni Michele Bruto), l'agent de l'électeur palatin, Galeotto Marzio (avec la préface de Sigmund Torda de Gyalu), Janus Pannonius, Sigmund Torda de Gyalu, Soiterus Melchior, Jean-Martin Stella, Lazius Wolfgang, Jean-Basile Hérolde, Pietro Bizzarri, Ferenac Črnko (avec la traduction latine de Samuel Budina), Joannes Jacobinus, Johannes Pistorius de Nidda, Georg Reichersdorff, Georgius Wernherus, Felix Petantius.

narratives de l'histoire de la Hongrie.³⁸ La majorité des écrits publiés se trouvent en manuscrit dans le legs de Bongars, ainsi par exemple la *Chronica Hungarorum* de Johannes de Thurocz, aujourd'hui dans la collection *Bongarsiana* de la Bibliothèque municipale de Berne, cote 279.³⁹ Sur celui-ci, ainsi que sur le manuscrit 468.18, figurent les indications manuscrites de Bongars concernant la préparation de l'édition de texte, moyen pour découvrir les méthodes de l'édition de l'époque.⁴⁰ À propos de l'édition de texte, l'humaniste hongrois Matthias Bel nota⁴¹ qu'elle était à corriger, et s'aperçut qu'il existait une version de texte de Thuroczi plus longue de celle de Bongars.⁴² Bongars lui-même mentionne une édition de Feger datant de 1483 à propos du *Carmen Misarabile* de Rogerius dont l'existence reste encore de nos jours très controversée.⁴³ Examinant le vocabulaire du recueil, János Liska écrit qu'il avait trouvé 600 à 700 mots «qui n'apparaissent soit dans aucun dictionnaire soit étaient en usage avec un sens différent»⁴⁴ et pour l'illustrer, il cite une impressionnante collection de mots.⁴⁵ On sait, à partir de la correspondance de Bongars avec Camerarius le Jeune, en ce qui concerne la synthèse des sources, tout était déjà prêt vers 1595-1596⁴⁶ et bien que Bongars estimât la plupart des

³⁸ À la suite de Bongars, Johann Georg Schwandtner publia la première grande collection de sources historiques hongroises en trois volumes, dont Matthias Bel rédigea la préface; la *Gesta Hungarorum* de Magister P., auteur inconnu, traitée en détail dans la préface de Matthias Bel, fut la plus importante source de cette édition. Voir *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum veteres ac genuini* I–III. Vindobonae 1746–1748.

³⁹ Bongars n'utilisa d'ailleurs pas celle-ci pour son édition de 1600, mais un autre codex d'Augsbourg moins étoffé qu'il possédait (aujourd'hui à Berne, Bibliothèque universitaire - *Universitätsbibliothek Bern*, MUE Bong V 968:1). Pour plus de détails, voir Gy. Gábor, "Adatok a középkori magyar könyvtárak történetéhez," [Histoire de l'écriture du livre médiéval hongrois] *Magyar könyvszemle* 20 (1912), 303.

⁴⁰ Gábor, *Adatok a középkori magyar könyvtárak történetéhez*, 302–315.

⁴¹ M. Belius: "Praefatio," in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum veteres ac genuini*, Vindobonae 1746, XIX.

⁴² Gábor, *Adatok a középkori magyar könyvtárak történetéhez*, 303.; Voir L. Juhász, "Introductio," In: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, ed. E. Szentpétery, Vol. 2. Budapest 1938, 548–549.; G. Tóth, "A magyar történetírás kritikája és megújításának programja az 1740-es évekből. Bél Mátyás és a *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*," [La critique et la réforme de l'historiographie hongroise depuis des années 1740. Matthias Bel et les *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*] *Történelmi Szemle* 55:4 (2013), 602.

⁴³ «Hos edimus ex manuscripto nostro, & veteri editione Augustana, quae prodiiit anno 1483. impensis Theodori [Theobaldi – corr. I. G.] Feger concivis Budensis: eam habuimus a Ioh. Pistorio Niddano V. CL.» Voir *Rerum Hungaricarum*, [9.]; Selon Gyula Gábor «la date est une erreur d'écriture évidente». Voir Gábor, *Adatok a középkori magyar könyvtárak történetéhez*, 304.

⁴⁴ J. Liska, "Adatok a magyarországi latinsághoz," [De la Hongrie latine] *Szarvasi ágostai hitvallású evangélikus főgymnasium értesítője* (1896), 11.

⁴⁵ Liska, *Adatok a magyarországi latinsághoz*, 15–24.

⁴⁶ *Lettres de Jacques de Bongars*, 1695, 537.

auteurs assez médiocres, il pensait qu'il serait trop «de vouloir prendre la pureté de Cicéron et du siècle d'Auguste, pour la règle unique de tous les Auteurs, et de ne pouvoir souffrir que les Sallustes, les Césars, et les Tite Lives.»⁴⁷ Dans la préface il présente la même idée de cette manière: «... certainement quelques-uns [de ces auteurs] ne seraient pas dignes de cette gloire, s'il en existait de plus dignes. Mais dans l'Histoire la plus grande vérité est celle que Pline [l'Ancien] ait écrit d'après les dires de Pline [le Jeune], selon lesquelles il y a pas de livre aussi mauvais qui n'aurait pas une partie précieuse et non seulement il faut avoir de la prudence, comme l'a dit Saint Jérôme, mais des œuvres, des œuvres assez pesantes, pour pouvoir trouver de l'or dans la boue.»⁴⁸ À propos d'Attila, Bongars remarque que ce n'est qu'à partir des mémoires des auteurs étrangers qu'il existe des sources plus fiables que sur les événements préhistoriques de la Hongrie, et que par conséquent, les traditions sont incertaines ou absentes dans l'intervalle d'Attila à Géza, grand-prince des Hongrois. Par la suite, il donna une caractérisation sur les historiographes les plus connus au niveau de l'histoire hongroise: «J'aime la simplicité et la fiabilité de Thurocz qui me sont prouvées par des fragments des annales anciennes citées souvent par Lazius, Michael Ritius et de même de Bonfini autant de fois quand j'ai envie de fouiller les traces d'anciennes histoires hongroises. Ranzano est tout à fait négligent. Callimachus est soigneux et élégant, l'œuvre de Galeotto Marzio est utile.»⁴⁹

Dans une dédicace préliminaire de huit pages en latin adressée à Guillaume Ancel, Bongars révèle ses motifs d'édition de sources et sa philosophie. Le manuscrit de cette dédicace est également visible à Berne parmi ses documents personnels.⁵⁰ Comme Bongars, Guillaume Ancel était issu d'une famille noble huguenote, et passa sa jeunesse à Orléans. Résident permanent du roi de France à la Cour de l'empereur Rodolphe à Prague, en 1583, il fut le correspondant essentiel de Bongars au sujet des opérations militaires en Europe centrale, en raison de ses activités. Ancel et Bongars accomplirent de semblables missions politiques ; leur correspondance témoigne de leur extrême vigilance concernant les affaires européennes. Ils évoquaient fréquemment le lourd poids de leurs dettes, s'informaient souvent l'un l'autre de prêts et d'achats de livres. L'introduction des *Rerum Hungaricarum* nous ne présente pas seulement le personnage d'Ancel: la figure de Bongars apparaît aussi entre les lignes, selon toute vraisemblance celle d'un homme cultivé qui d'une part veut transmettre des connaissances historiques de l'époque sanglante des guerres de religion, et d'autre part faire passer une instruction. Dans sa philosophie de vie, tout est imprégné par la bonté de Dieu, même si l'humanité ne s'en rend pas compte et elle commet continuellement des péchés pour tomber finalement dans le pire des crimes, devenir l'assassin de son propre

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, 80.

⁴⁸ *Rerum Hungaricarum*, [7.]

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, [7.]

⁵⁰ Cod. 146.8. (fol. 226r-282v), Bongars, Jacques (1554–1612) *Vorarbeiten und Druckvorlagen für Rerum Hungaricarum scriptores varii*.

souverain: «... finalement nous avons vu que tout avait été renversé, nous avons vu que le crime des sujets avait éteint des rois »⁵¹ En 1600, alors que Bongars note ces idées, les philosophes protestants avaient déjà oublié la période (1572-1584) qui suivit le Massacre de la Saint Barthélémy, où ils se posaient en défenseurs du droit des minorités et ils se transforment en inventeurs du droit de résistance. La doctrine monarchomane enracinée dans la tradition médiévale⁵² fut abandonnée à partir de 1584, quand la disparition du dernier frère d'Henri III, du fait de la loi salique, transforma le chef huguenot, Henri de Navarre en héritier légitime de la couronne française.⁵³ À l'extrême fin du 16^e siècle, les ligueurs adoptèrent les idées monarchomane délaissées par les protestants et se livrèrent à leur tour à la passion du tyrannicide.⁵⁴ La différence fondamentale entre les deux était que, même si les auteurs tel que Hotman dans *Franco-Gallia* (1573) défendaient le droit à l'élimination d'un tyran, ils ne légitimaient pas le tyrannicide contrairement au pape Pie V, qui, lui, y voyait la clé de la vie éternelle.⁵⁵ Dans sa période ultra (1584-1598) la Ligue, en effet, salua la mort d'Henri III comme celle de l'Antéchrist et du Tyran, tandis que Bongars, à l'instar des philosophes protestants, condamna l'assassinat du roi, même s'il l'interpréta comme un signe providentiel.

Bongars structure son introduction didactiquement et oriente l'attention de son lecteur sur la volonté divine. Dans son intérêt, la Hongrie elle-même a un rôle plus accentué vu que son lamentable sort historique coïncide bien avec ses arguments pédagogiques. Le pays d'autrefois abondant dans tous les biens du Dieu, en expansion victorieuse vers l'Est et l'Ouest devient plus tard la proie des infidèles à cause les siens, la magnificence, l'égoïsme, la corruption de la haute noblesse hongroise et les discordances des princes de l'Europe occidentale. Le destin du peuple hongrois, dépouillé de sa grandeur d'antan par les hostilités générées des siens et par la corruption répandue des étrangères se transformait en une horrification pour les autres nations. Bongars se sert de ces stéréotypes historiques⁵⁶ qui ont été attribués aux Hongrois

⁵¹ *Rerum Hungaricarum*, [2.]

⁵² Le principal idéologue des monarchomane fut François Hotman (1524-1590). Il voulut théoriquement justifier le droit «primitif» à la résistance par ce raisonnement: les rois ancestraux de France devaient leur couronne à l'élection, le pouvoir royal n'étant pas héréditaire. Dans une monarchie élective, le roi gouverne avec les États généraux, et l'on parle d'une monarchie mixte. Si le roi rompt ce pacte social, la révolte des sujets est légitime.

⁵³ N. Le Roux, 1^{er} août 1589. *Un régicide au nom de Dieu. L'assassinat d'Henri III. Les journées qui ont fait la France*. Paris 2006, 290-291.; N. Le Roux, *Le Roi, la cour, l'État. De la Renaissance à l'absolutisme*. Seyssel 2013, 267-280.

⁵⁴ Le Roux, 1^{er} août 1589, 160-181.

⁵⁵ M. Cottret, "La justification catholique du tyrannicide," *Parlement[s] Revue d'histoire politique* 3:6 (2010), 113.

⁵⁶ S. Csernus, "Mítosz, propaganda és népi etimológia: Hunyadi János: "Fehér" vagy "Vlach" lovag?," [Mythe, propagande et étymologie folklorique. Jean de Hunyad, chevalier «Blanc» ou «Vlach»?] *Acta Historica* 128 (2011), 30.

surgissant dans le Bassin carpatique, représentés par les Français comme les descendants des barbares scytho-huns cannibales⁵⁷ avant même la naissance des idéologies d'identités nationales. Les bases assez difficilement saisissables et troubles de la caractérologie des peuples ou des nations, sujet favori de l'idée politique et de l'historiographie française, étaient déjà jetées au 15^e siècle⁵⁸ selon laquelle la nature sauvage du peuple hongrois était expliquée par le climat féroce. Néanmoins au 16^e siècle, la menace ottomane en Europe commença tout d'un coup à faire interpréter l'esprit militariste hongrois comme une vertu, et attribua à la Hongrie le rôle du *rempart de la chrétienté*⁵⁹ – topos littéraire qui apparaît dans les écrits des auteurs tant catholiques que protestants pendant la période des guerres de religion, voire de l'après-guerre paisible. Mais tandis que dans la théorie de parenté hunno-hongroise, élément rudimentaire de l'identité nationale hongroise, la mémoire d'Attila était positive, dans la culture européenne le roi « sauvage » des Huns, ennemi redoutable des Romains civilisés gardait une image plutôt négative de lui-même. Bongars également – peut-être même d'après son auteur publié en première place, Johannes de Thurocz – accepte la personnalité brillante du grand roi des Huns, tout en lui attribuant les clichés de la culture occidentale. Mais pourquoi ne pas accepter les traditions hongroises comparant la personne d'Attila à Alexandre le Grand, tous les deux dévastateurs du monde entier?⁶⁰ Tout cela n'absout pas les Huns des critiques de Bongars juste dans la mesure où ils deviennent les fléaux du monde selon la volonté de Dieu: «*Oh, douleur – pour me servir des mots de cet auteur que je fais également paraître – sur quel chemin se dirige la gloire du monde selon la disposition des dieux? Le roi qui répandit le sang de tant de peuples, s'étouffa de son propre sang.*»⁶¹ Bongars ne désire pas se joindre au débat concernant l'origine des Hongrois qu'il compare d'après Jordanès, Claudien et Ammien Marcellin à des monstres de même ainsi que les Huns. Peu importe s'il s'agit d'un groupe ethnique récent, ou s'ils sont les descendants d'anciennes hordes hunniques mélangées avec les Avars, d'autant plus – écrit-il – qu'il n'existe aucun pays qui soit plus souvent traversé par la

⁵⁷ S. Eckhardt, "Az emberevő magyar meséje," [Le conte du Hongrois cannibal] *Magyar Nyelv* 23 (1927), 250.

⁵⁸ Sujet favori de l'historiographie française, la caractérologie des nations en fonction de la géographie et du climat fut traitée par Jean Bodin, Philippe de Commynes, Montesquieu, etc. Voir S. Csernus, "A reneszánsz fejedelemtükrök forrásvidékén: Philippe de Commynes, a "francia Machiavelli"," [Au pays d'origine des portraits princiers renaissances. Philippe de Commynes, le Machiavel français] *Századok* 133:1 (1999), 139.

⁵⁹ Bongars utilise l'expression d'Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini: «*fidei nostrae clypeus, nostrae Religionis murus*», Voir *Aeneae Sylvi Piccolominei Senensis ... opera quae extant omnia*. Basileae 1551, 682.

⁶⁰ «Regarde notre Attila que les Hongrois appellent à juste titre grand ainsi qu'Alexandre le Grand et d'autres pareils grand voleur, pilleur du monde entier.» Voir *Rerum Hungaricarum*, [2-3.]

⁶¹ *Op. cit.*, [3.]

migration constante des habitants que la Hongrie.⁶² La Hongrie est importante, au sens où elle est un exemple excellent de l'axiome des philosophes protestants, démonstration de leur propagande prônant la culpabilité et l'apocalypse, où l'invasion ottomane est la volonté de Dieu ainsi qu'autrefois le ravage des Huns. En effet, après être devenu par la grâce de Dieu un pays florissant et avoir mérité le titre de *bouclier de notre foi et rempart de notre religion*,⁶³ il devint par l'injonction divine la cause de sa propre perte. Bongars fait référence à ces philosophes réformés qui à l'inverse de l'historiographie humaniste, mettaient ce Dieu à l'origine des événements pour qui les Huns et les Turcs, ainsi qu'Attila et le sultan ottoman, devinrent la dernière ressource du châtement divin.⁶⁴ L'objectif final de la punition est l'intégralité du monde chrétien combattant l'un contre l'autre pendant que l'invasion ottomane dévaste tout. Dans cette interprétation c'est le conflit divisant les Chrétiens et les pays, y compris la Couronne Française, est à l'origine des maux: «*Mais je t'en supplie Dieu créateur, conservateur de l'humanité, auteur du nom chrétien, je t'invoque publiquement: rends la paix à ceux qui honorent ton nom, ainsi que ta paix véritable et certaine. Purifie les mains droites imprégnées de sang fraternel et attache-les par un amour fraternel.*»⁶⁵ L'image du Dieu bienveillant de Bongars est apte à présenter par un parallèle constantinopolitain du 12^e siècle la purification de l'humanité avec la grâce de Dieu au cas où elle serait capable d'élever son regard vers les cieux. Il relate d'après Nicéas Choniates, historien byzantin du 12^e siècle, une légende selon laquelle l'empereur Manuel I^{er} Comnène (1143-1180), lors des préparatifs de sa dernière campagne de Hongrie en 1167, lors d'un séjour à Sardice il reçut de la capitale la nouvelle d'un événement miraculeux. Des deux statues féminines situées sur l'arcade occidentale du forum de Constantin, celle de Romana s'écroula, mais Hungarissa resta debout. Sur ces entrefaites il ordonna de refaire la statue de Romana et de détruire celle de Hungarissa, convaincu – selon Nicéas Choniates – qu'en changeant la condition des statues il pouvait influencer le développement des événements ; c'est-à-dire qu'il pouvait soutenir la cause des Byzantins et aggraver celle des Hongrois.⁶⁶ Manuel était pieux et ne se souciait pas des difficultés de son Empire, il croyait fermement à la victoire négociée par les statues de la même

⁶² «Sed quae frequentiores quam terra Hungaria passa sit incolarum mutationes, haud scio an ulla sit. [...] Hungari vero, nova gens sit, an eadem illa vetus mixta Avaris Hunica, quod plerique volunt, non disputo. Id enim certo constituere neque nostra valde refert, neque in promptu est.» Voir *Rerum Hungaricarum*, [6.]

⁶³ Voir note 59.

⁶⁴ Sur l'interprétation chrétienne, voir P. Ács, "'Isten haragja – magyarnak példája": A hun történet két értelmezése," [La fureur de Dieu, l'exemple du Hongrois. Les deux interprétations de l'Histoire hunnique] In: *Clio inter arma: Tanulmányok a 16–18. századi magyarországi történetírásról*, éd. G. Tóth, Budapest 2014, 23.

⁶⁵ *Rerum Hungaricarum*, [8.]

⁶⁶ Gy. Moravcsik, "Megjegyzések a magyar-bizánci kapcsolatok művészeti emlékeihez," [Aperçus sur les monuments artistiques des relations hungaro-byzantines] *Antik Tanulmányok* 11:1–2 (1964), 90.

manière que le bon chrétien ne fixe pas non plus les yeux sur les flots fouettés par le vent, mais cherche son chemin vers le port levant les yeux vers le ciel.

Le compagnon de route de Bongars vers Constantinople en 1585, Felix von Herberstein avait un lien de parenté⁶⁷ avec le célèbre voyageur diplomate qu'il cite longuement dans sa préface. L'œuvre⁶⁸ du baron Sigmund von Herberstein (1486–1566), diplomate connu pour ses ambassades en Russie, puis au camp de Bude du sultan Soliman le Magnifique (1541), parut même trois fois à Bâle (1563, 1567, 1571) ; elle faisait partie de tous les collections seigneuriales et pontificales dans le Bassin carpatique.⁶⁹ La phrase finale de la longue citation récapitulant le déclin de la Hongrie fut imprimée dans le livre de Bongars avec une erreur typographique soi-disant malencontreuse avec un attribut antonymique (*consideret* au lieu de *conclideret*), cette faute ne modifie tout de même pas l'interprétation du raisonnement.⁷⁰ Au service des Habsbourg, Sigmund von Herberstein se déplaça presque annuellement en Hongrie⁷¹ et deux fois de même à Moscou, d'abord sur les ordres de l'empereur Maximilien I^{er}, deuxièmement sur ceux de Ferdinand I^{er}, roi de Hongrie et de Bohême. Ces voyages avaient un but politique très précis: la défense d'intérêts des Habsbourg contre la dynastie Jagellon pour l'hégémonie de l'Europe de l'Est et l'acquisition de la Hongrie.⁷² Les contrats de mariage entre les deux dynasties servaient le même dessein: fils de Vladislas II Jagellon, roi de Hongrie (1490-1516), Louis II Jagellon fut déjà engagé avant sa naissance avec la sœur cadette de Ferdinand de Habsbourg, Marie, alors que Ferdinand pour épouse Anne Jagellon, sœur aînée de Louis. Dans le passage cité par Bongars, Herberstein met en corrélation avec la nature corrompue des Hongrois le fait qu'après le roi

⁶⁷ Grand-père de Felix von Herberstein, Georg Andreas von Herberstein fut le neveu du célèbre diplomate et voyageur, Sigmund von Herberstein. Voir P. Mátyás-Rausch, *A szatmári bányavidék története a Báthoryak korában (1571–1613). Az arany és ezüstmányászat művelése és igazgatása*. [Le district minier de Sathmar à l'ère des Báthory (1571–1613). Le culte et la direction de l'extraction de l'or et de l'argent] Thèse de doctorat. Pécs 2012, 105.

⁶⁸ *Rerum moscoviticarum commentarii Sigismundi liberi baronis in Herberstein, Neyperg et Guettenhag*. Basileæ 1556. (La partie citée par Bongars pages 145-147.) Le travail de Georg Wernher, humaniste silésien, sur les eaux thermales de la Haute-Hongrie (*De admirandis Hungariæ aquis*) fait partie de cette œuvre et de celle de Bongars aussi.

⁶⁹ Monok, *A bázeli, a genfi és a zürichi könyvkiadás*, 154.

⁷⁰ Pál Medgyesi, ministre calviniste de Transylvanie du 17^e siècle, lut les mots de Herberstein dans l'édition de Bongars comme il le révéla dans l'introduction de sa collection de sermons. Voir P. Medgyesi, *Sok jajokban* [...]. Sárospatak 1658.

⁷¹ István Szamota édita des passages de ses voyages en Hongrie, voir I. Szamota, "Br. Herberstein Zsigmond utazásai 1518-tól 1538-ig," [Les voyages du Baron Sigmund von Herberstein de 1518 au 1538] In: *Régi utazások Magyarországon és a Balkán-félszigeten. 1054–1717*, Budapest 1891, 147–150.

⁷² L. Klima, *Jürkák, tormák, merjék. Szemelvények a finnugor nyelvű népek történetének korai forrásaiból*. [Jurkas, Tormas, Merjas. Abrégés des sources précoces des peuples finno-ougriens] Budapest 2016, 98.

Matthias Corvin (1458-1490), bien qu'issu d'une famille non royale, mais vrai roi en son nom et en ses actes, le pays «*s'était effondré par son propre poids*».⁷³ Vladislav II Jagellon ainsi que son fils et successeur, Louis II Jagellon furent trop indulgents et bénins aux Hongrois habitués à l'immodération, au luxe, à la paresse, au mépris, à un tel point qu'ils les écrasèrent de même. Une couche étroite nobiliaire et pontificale privilégiée monopolisait malhonnêtement en ses mains le pouvoir, accumulait les charges et les honneurs, corrompait la justice. Après l'envoyé des Habsbourg, Bongars prend la parole ne manquant pas de mentionner spécialement les rois hongrois d'origine française de la maison d'Anjou-Sicile et déplore avec des mots empruntés à Virgile sur le déclin qui suivit le règne de Jean et de Matthias de Hunyad. Par la suite Bongars adopte de nouveau un point de vue français dans les événements en relatant les événements avec la personne de Vladislav II Jagellon, puis par une fine digression généalogique, il saisit l'occasion de faire la louange de son propre roi: «*... sa femme était Anne, de la famille des Fois, dont la ligne maternelle amène jusqu'au plus glorieux Henri IV.*» Bongars ne manque aucune occasion de glorifier ses compatriotes et consacre tout un passage à Philippe de Villiers de L'Isle-Adam (1464-1534), grand maître de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem qui en 1523 «*défendit avec une vertu admirable pendant sept mois Rhodes contre l'attaque du puissant Soliman le Magnifique, intrépide après la saisie récente de Belgrade.*»⁷⁴ Dans ce contexte, c'est-à-dire dans cette situation délétère en Hongrie une louange insolite de Bongars entoure également la personne de Ferdinand de Habsbourg: «*... d'abord excellent roi, puis Empereur et il ramena en Hongrie la maison d'Autriche qui a le pied bien sûr ici même aujourd'hui.*»⁷⁵ Le style apocalyptique, et boursoufflé, abondant en citations tirées de l'Ancien Testament ainsi que des auteurs classiques, sa sensibilité protestante, s'adressent à la totalité du monde chrétien, s'inquiétant autant pour sa patrie que pour le sort de l'Univers entier. Il critique hardiment son époque pendant qu'il concentre son attention à la France tout au long de la narration. Il dirige notre attention vers son pays natal, la France, dévastée par les guerres de religion à laquelle même dans son état actuel n'est pas comparable le déclin du royaume de Hongrie: «*Nous tous nous souffrons des mêmes maladies, les choses ne se passeront pas mieux avec nous non plus, nous sommes pareils. Des temps pleins de périls se pressent, des peines funestes nous menacent. Les yeux éveillés de Justice veillent attentivement pendant que le temps cédé à notre impiété et à nos repentirs ne s'écoule.*»⁷⁶ Tout au long de son argumentation il oppose l'exemple de la Hongrie et des Hongrois à son lecteur invoqué à la deuxième personne du singulier ou du pluriel. Il se sert d'outils rhétoriques efficaces, car entraîné par sa puissante ferveur protestante, il veut avant tout convaincre ses compatriotes, les Français: l'invocation «les nôtres» s'adresse avant tout à eux. C'est à eux

⁷³ *Rerum Hungaricarum*, [4.]

⁷⁴ *Op. cit.*, [8.]

⁷⁵ *Op. cit.*, [7.]

⁷⁶ *Op. cit.*, [5.]

qu'il adresse une parabole didactique: «*Je t'en supplie, très bon Ancel, permets-moi de parler brièvement aux nôtres de ces Hongrois et de reprendre des événements bien connus pour toi.*»⁷⁷ En même temps il se révèle de même dans des lettres plus tardives de Bongars qu'il condamne profondément la domination ottomane et qu'il appelle l'Europe à une croisade contre elle.

Bongars insère dans ses *Rerum Hungaricarum* trente-quatre des épigraphes romaines rassemblées lors de son voyage en Hongrie et en Transylvanie en 1585. Il contribue ainsi aux fondations du recueil du philologue flamand, Jan Gruter (1560-1627),⁷⁸ postérieur de quelques années. Une dédicace est rattachée séparément à l'annexe, cette fois adressé à son compagnon de voyage, Guillaume Le Normant, évoquant les circonstances périlleuses du trajet: «*Ces quelques-unes que j'ai collectées à travers la Hongrie et la Transylvanie comme une seule planche d'un naufrage, je les lie à ton nom frère Guillaume. Tous ceux-là tu les as vus, tu les as lus quand nous avons fait un voyage à Constantinople, nous, compagnons inséparables lors d'une longue pérégrination dangereuse.*»⁷⁹ Bongars juge la Hongrie digne d'étude pour deux raisons: d'une part parce qu'elle était le lieu par excellence des événements historiques miraculeux ce dont les épigraphes témoignent, d'autre part parce qu'elle est riche en ressources naturelles, en eaux minérales, en sources chaudes et en minéraux métalliques. Il révèle dans l'introduction de l'annexe qu'avec la collecte des épigraphes son but était d'inspirer les autres, avant tout les Hongrois, de prêter attention à la valeur des monuments antiques et d'en collecter soigneusement les vestiges: «*C'est dans ce dessein que je publie tout cela que je n'estime pas si graves à pouvoir retenir le pressoir du typographe ou l'attention du lecteur érudit. Mais j'espère fortement qu'après qu'ils auront vu quelques-uns des fragments des innombrables écritures antiques édités par un homme étranger, il y aura d'autres qui assembleront les inscriptions anciennes dispersées honteusement à terre et montreront fidèlement ce lieu lui-même, tout ce qui y est digne d'être raconté et admirer dedans qui ne furent pas ou seulement en partie décrits jusqu'ici même par les Hongrois vivant à proximité ou par les étrangères difficilement à leur disposition.*»⁸⁰

Les *Rerum Hungaricarum* n'étaient pas une lecture populaire à son époque non plus, mais étaient largement répandus dans les bibliothèques seigneuriales, leur auteur étant bien connu en dépit de son anonymat.⁸¹ Certes,

⁷⁷ *Op. cit.*, [3.]

⁷⁸ J. Gruterus, *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani, in corpus absolutiss. redactae*. [Heidelberg] [1603].

⁷⁹ *Rerum Hungaricarum*, 619.

⁸⁰ *Op. cit.*, 620.

⁸¹ À part les nombreuses références personnelles, une autre indication supplémentaire aide à identifier la personne de Bongars, notamment les phrases préliminaires de l'annexe écrites en mars de l'année 1597, où il se lamente sous l'influence d'une récente douleur sur la mort de sa fiancée survenue un mois avant. Voir Anquez, *Henri IV et l'Allemagne*, XLIV-XLV.; C. Cuissard, "Le contrat de mariage de Jacques Bongars, 28. Mai 1596," *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et historique de l'Orléanais* 12:165 (1899), 240-241.

il faut reconnaître qu'après que leur unique édition connue «commençait à échapper aux yeux des doctes, et pouvait être acheté difficilement à moins que très cher»,⁸² son règne séculaire au sein d'une élite intellectuelle permet en même temps d'étudier à travers ses «emprunts» ou ses «impacts» les stratégies propagandistes des cercles protestants cités plus haut. Il existe maints exemples, de l'époque antique et byzantine, de croyances établies entre une effigie et la personne représentée ou le sort d'un peuple, mais l'acte superstitieux de Manuel I^{er} n'était mentionné que par Nicéas Choniates dans son œuvre historique.⁸³ Cependant Bongars se nourrit assurément d'une récente expérience de lecture quand il évoque cette histoire peu connue de la manifestation d'une forte croyance. Quelques années avant la parution de son recueil, le jurisconsulte Philipp Camerarius (1537-1624), frère cadet d'un de ses plus importants correspondants, Joachim Camerarius insère ce passage dans le chapitre sur les convictions superstitieuses de ses *Méditations historiques*,⁸⁴ ce dont Bongars fit usage dans un autre contexte dans l'introduction de son recueil hongrois. Au 17^e siècle, l'influence du recueil peut être mesurée à travers plusieurs œuvres traitant de la Hongrie, et nous pouvons prétendre sans exagération que la dédicace des *Rerum Hungaricarum* contribua à nuancer la conscience communautaire étrangère sur la Hongrie. Jurisconsulte de Tübingen, Thomas Lansius publie une volumineuse collection rhétorique de *certamen*⁸⁵ en 1626 (élargissement de la publication de 1613), où les différents orateurs s'affrontent avec des discours opposés. Dans la partie laudative, l'orateur se contente d'allusions modestes: il se réfère discrètement au pouvoir du grand ancêtre, Attila déambulant autour de toute l'Europe.⁸⁶ L'orateur déployant des arguments *Contra Hungariam*, Ernest Schafelitzki cite d'évidence les textes de Bongars et avec une fine transcription, Attila reconnu par l'indulgence de Bongars comme grand, est dégradé en ravageur.⁸⁷

La collection eut la plus grande attention, en effet, en Hongrie au cours du 17^e siècle, ce dont témoignent les exemplaires subsistants dans les bibliothèques seigneuriales,⁸⁸ les notes de possesseurs de ceux-ci,⁸⁹ et les raisonnements ou

⁸² «... Bongarsiana ... Collectio, fugere coepit doctorum oculos, vixque, nisi pretio grandiore, emebatur. » Voir *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, V.

⁸³ Moravcsik, *Megjegyzések a magyar-bizánci kapcsolatok művészeti emlékeihez*, 90.

⁸⁴ Ph. Camerarius: *Operae horarum succisivarum sive meditationes historicae*. Noribergae 1591, 276.

⁸⁵ Th. Lansius, *Consultatio de principatu inter provincias Europae*. Tübingae 1626.

⁸⁶ A. Tarnai, *Extra Hungariam non est vita ... Egy szállóige történetéhez*. [À l'histoire d'un dicton] Budapest 1969, 71-72.

⁸⁷ Lansius, *Consultatio de principatu*, 733-735.

⁸⁸ Par exemple la collection de Ferenc Kazinczy (1759-1831), homme de lettres hongrois, à Sárospatak. Voir E. J. Kiss, *Kazinczy Ferenc könyvtári gyűjteménye Sárospatakon*. [La collection bibliothécaire de Ferenc Kazinczy à Sárospatak] Acta Patakina 19. Sárospatak 2006, 28.

⁸⁹ Les notes de possesseurs des exemplaires de la *Bibliotheca Zriniana* révèlent également les noms de Péter Erdődy et György Rátkay. Voir I. Monok, "A

les éventuelles correspondances de texte des autres auteurs qui peuvent être mises en parallèle avec les productions de Bongars. Nous pouvons trouver par exemple non seulement les mêmes citations de Herberstein, Sénèque ou Thuroczi dans la lettre dédicatoire du *Dictionnaire hongrois-français* d'Albert Szenci Molnár (1604),⁹⁰ mais «*en citant les mots d'un grand homme*», il emprunte beaucoup à l'œuvre, vraisemblablement présente sous ses yeux.⁹¹ Ses passages sur le mélange des peuples dans le Bassin carpatique s'inspirent de Bongars⁹² et le Dieu bienveillant protégeant tout le monde amène les Hongrois, comme autrefois le peuple d'Israël à travers la Mer Rouge «*en cette plus belle partie de l'Europe*».⁹³ Certes la présence du sort parallèle hungaro-juif et celle de la «*théorie de migrations*» bongarsienne dans l'ouvrage de Pál Kismarjai Veszelin (1612-1645), prédicateur calviniste de Debrecen, intitulé *La perte de Jérusalem* (1629),⁹⁴ est déjà l'effet d'Albert Szenci Molnár. Le discours de Pál Kismarjai Veszelin – qui subsiste en un seul exemplaire⁹⁵ – fut prononcé à l'inauguration de l'église Saint-André de Debrecen en 1629. Il s'agit d'une réflexion sur les circonstances de la destruction de Jérusalem par Titus et d'une interprétation à travers l'allusion ou la prophétie de Jésus à la chute de la ville (Luc 19, 41-44; Mt 12,25; 23,37). Le sujet en est bien populaire surtout en cette fin du 17^e siècle, pour de compréhensibles raisons historiques: la bonne attitude morale pour «*un peuple terrassé*» est le recours à Dieu, ainsi que la pratique d'une vie sainte et pieuse. Deux citations de l'introduction de Bongars, explicitement mentionnées, sont présentes dans cette œuvre, et grâce aux enquêtes de Dávid Csorba il fut avéré⁹⁶ que par la suite, Pál Kismarjai Veszelin servit de source aux emprunts bongarsiens de Pál Megyesi (1604-1663), pasteur réformé.⁹⁷

Au tournant des 16^e et 17^e siècles, première période de la diplomatie où Jacques Bongars remplit ses activités, les grandes puissances politiques

Bibliotheca Zriniana története," [L'histoire de la Bibliotheca Zriniana] In: *A Bibliotheca Zriniana története és állománya*, éd. G. Hausner, I. Monok, G. Orlovsky, Budapest 1991, 30.

⁹⁰ A. Molnar Szenciensis, "Epistola nuncupatoria," In: *Dictionarium Latino-Ungaricum Opus hactenus nusquam editum. Item dictionarium Ungarico-Latinum*, Noribergæ 1604, [2., 5.]

⁹¹ *Op. cit.*, [5.]

⁹² *Op. cit.*, [2.]

⁹³ «Gentem ... Ungaricam [...] in hanc amœnissimam Europæ partem collocavit ...» Voir *op. cit.*, [2.]

⁹⁴ Voir les notes de Csaba Fekete dans les *Régi Magyar Nyomtatványok* [=Imprimés anciens de Hongrie] 1601-1635, éd. G. Borsa et alii, Budapest 1983, 457. (1425A); D. Csorba, "Névtelen 'jajj-szó'. Kismarjai Veszelin Pál prédikációja egy 17. század végi kolligátumban," [Lamentation anonyme. Le sermon de Pál Kismarjai Veszelin dans un volume composite du 17^e siècle] *Magyar Könyvszemle* 2 (2000), 200-204.

⁹⁵ K. Szabó, éd. *Régi Magyar Könyvtár* [=Ancienne Bibliothèque hongroise] 1531-1711. Tome 1. 1879. I, 1349.

⁹⁶ Csorba, *Névtelen 'jajj-szó'*, 203.

⁹⁷ Medgyesi, *Sok jajokban*, Introduction.

n'avaient pas de représentations permanentes dans tous les pays et même le secrétariat d'État aux Affaires étrangères institué en France en 1588 eut un rôle précurseur. Les envoyés utilisaient les systèmes de communication de la République des Lettres, dans une seule et même lettre les événements politiques les plus récents voisinaient avec des préoccupations savantes. Les traités théoriques sur le métier d'envoyé⁹⁸ – écrits dans le premier tiers du 16^e siècle mais réédités, avec des tirages importants à la fin du siècle – voient dans « l'envoyé érudit » le diplomate idéal qui a besoin de culture, de connaissance des langues étrangères, d'expériences de l'étranger, et avant tout de réputation. Vers la fin des années 1600, la *respublica litteraria* n'est plus un espace politiquement neutre, comme le montre très clairement l'exemple des « diplomates savantes », alors que la nouvelle politique étrangère et la nouvelle diplomatie manquent encore d'une infrastructure, on utilise les structures et les canaux d'information existants.⁹⁹ Dans le réseau étendu de Jacques Bongars, « envoyé savant » par excellence, coexistent aussi bien les informateurs de milieux calvinistes, les politiques catholiques de la Cour royale ou les compagnons de science apostasiant plusieurs fois, comme c'est le cas de Juste Lipse. La Hongrie sous la pression des grandes puissances politiques en tant que pays souffrant des événements est le sujet, l'acteur fréquent de ce flux d'informations politiques et scientifiques. Les savants humanistes hongrois, Jean Sambucus, Albert Szenci Molnár, Stephanus Arator, Michael Forgach qui se suivent dans la République des Lettres sont également présents dans les cercles de Jacques Bongars, par leur médiation, les couches savantes hongroises, elles non plus, ne se détachent pas de la vie intellectuelle européenne: à la fin du 16^e siècle, en dépit de résultats encore modestes, le mouvement académique hongrois n'est pas en retard par rapport aux autres nations de l'Europe, et arrive au seuil de la fondation conventionnelle d'une académie.¹⁰⁰

La chaîne d'informations esquissée ci-dessus est un bel exemple du modèle de propagation de l'idée intellectuelle, détectable en Hongrie dès la parution du recueil de Bongars jusqu'au 18^e siècle. Dans la deuxième moitié du 18^e

⁹⁸ É. Dolet, *De officio legati*. Lyon 1541.; C. Braun, "De legationibvs libri qvinque: cvnctis in repvb. versantibus, avt qvolibet magistratv fungentibus perutiles, et lectu iucundi," In: *Opera tria*, Mainz 1548.; F. La Mothe le Vayer, *Legatus seu de legatione*. Paris 1579.; A. Gentili, *De legationibus libri tres*. Hanau 1594.; C. Paschal, *Legatus*. Rouen 1598.; J. Hotman, *L'ambassadeur*. [s.l.] 1603.; H. Kirchner, *Legatus. Editione altera emendatus, et plurimum auctus. Cunctis tum in Juris prudentiae, politicarumque artium studiis, tum in Reip. administratione versantibus lectu scitus, et scitu necessities*. Marburg a.d. Lahn 1610.; J. Hotman, *De la charge et dignité de l'Ambassadeur*. Düsseldorf 1613. ; F. van Marselaer, *Legatus*. Amsterdam 1644. etc.

⁹⁹ L. Madeleine, "Les ambassadeurs en résidence, une innovation de la Renaissance," In: *La diplomatie au temps de Brantôme*, dir. F. Argod-Dutard, A. Cocula, Bordeaux 2007, 28.

¹⁰⁰ T. Klaniczay, *Pallas magyar ivadéka*. [Les rejets hongrois de Pallas] Budapest 1985, 30.

siècle, l'effet de l'œuvre est déjà perceptible dans une autre forme, sur ses traces des ouvrages d'analyse surgissent, de nouvelles initiatives émergent. Qu'il nous soit permis de relever, du fait de son attachement confessionnel, l'œuvre peu connue, subsistant en manuscrit, du pasteur calviniste transylvanien Petrus Bod (1712-1769), intitulée *Necessaria ac utilis scriptorum historiae Hungariae notitia* (1768), traitant des ouvrages et des historiographes de la Hongrie et de la Transylvanie, qui consacre un chapitre à part à la *Collection Bongarsienne*.¹⁰¹ Matthias Bel, futur recteur du lycée de Presbourg, rejoignant la collecte de données protestante de l'histoire ecclésiastique au début du 18^e siècle, à part ses propres recherches, collabore avec un historien autrichien de son cercle, Johann Georg Schwandtner (1716-1791) à l'édition d'un recueil de sources historiques hongroises en trois volumes, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum veteres ac genuini*, publiés à Vienne entre 1746 et 1748 d'après l'œuvre de Bongars.¹⁰² «Tout ce qui paraissait – écrivit-il – viser la correction, l'illumination, la restitution et l'enrichissement ce celle-ci [l'édition bongarsienne], ils les ont notés avec modération, mais assidûment et prudemment et ils les ont mis en notes de bas de page. Ainsi d'une part les différentes lectures et d'autre part les textes douteux sont disponibles. Il est donc évident que notre homme a fait d'une pierre deux coups quand il a mis heureusement et économiquement au jour le codex jusqu'ici caché et avec le même soin il a rendu plus corrigé et plus brillant l'édition de Bongars.»¹⁰³ En dépit de ses observations critiques, Matthias Bel ne conteste jamais l'importance du recueil de sources de Bongars et attire l'attention de la postérité distraite au travail et à l'introduction de l'envoyé d'une merveilleuse instruction:¹⁰⁴ «Je te prie, lecteur bienveillant, de lire, de relire et de nouveau lire et relire la préface de Jacques Bongars qu'il a écrite pour introduire ses Auteurs de l'Histoire hongroise, édités avec la *Chronica Hungarorum* de Johannes de Thurocz à Francfort en 1600 in folio chez les héritiers d'André Wechel. Nous pouvons lire à peine de nos maux plus efficacement et même les mots de Herberstein y sont cités.»¹⁰⁵ Cette préface imprègne, en effet,

¹⁰¹ P. Bod, *Necessaria ac utilis scriptorum historiae Hungariae notitia*. 1768. Bibliothèque Teleki-Bolyai, Tîrgu Mureş (en hongrois Marosvásárhely, aujourd'hui en Roumanie) Cote: 1510. B. sz. 96. pp.

¹⁰² Voir note 38.

¹⁰³ «Quidquid enim, ad emendandam, illustrandam, restituendam, atque locupletandam eam [*Bongarsianam editionem*], pertinere videbatur; parca id quidem, sed manu, et subacto iudicio, adscripserunt, retuleruntque in iis notulis, quae sub singularum fere paginarum columnis, conspiciuntur, et nunc variantium lectionum vicem praestant, nunc lucis quidpiam, dubio textui, adfundunt. Ergo, una hac fidelia, duos dealbavisse parietes, censendus est noster: quando, et retrusum hucusque codicem, opportune ac per compendia, in rem communem vertit, et Bongarsii editionem, eadem illa diligentia, correctiorem fecit, lautioresque.» Voir *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, XIV.

¹⁰⁴ «... legatus, pro mirifica ... eruditione...» Voir *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, IV.

¹⁰⁵ «Lege, quaeso, Lector benevole! & relege, iterumque lege, & relege, Iacobi Bongarsii, praefationem, quam praemisit, *Rerum Hungaricarum* Scriptioribus, editis cum M. Ioh. Thuróczi *Chronico Hung.* Francofurti, apud heredes Andreas Wechelii, Francof. A. MDC. fol. qua vix unquam legimus, de malis nostris, efficacius

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longtemps les idées constituées des Hongrois. Il est cependant regrettable qu'en même temps Jacques Bongars révèle peu du travail critique accompli sur les textes édités. De ce point de vue il conviendrait de soumettre son recueil à une analyse comparative, comme s'y est engagé le juriste historien hongrois, Gyula Gábor (1868-1936) au début du 20^e siècle. De toute façon, nous pouvons déclarer que le résultat le plus important de Bongars fut de poser ces bases historiographiques, sur lesquelles édifie Matthias Bel après Jean Sambucus,¹⁰⁶ fondant dans un siècle et demi l'historiographie hongroise, et montrant le chemin à suivre.¹⁰⁷

quidquam: ubi, & verba exstant Herbersteinii.» Voir M. Bel, *Notitia Hungariae novae historico geographica*. Tomus tertius. Viennæ 1737, 240.

¹⁰⁶ Antonii Bonfinii *Rerum Ungaricarum decades quatuor cum dimidia*. His accessere Ioan. Sambuci aliquot appendices, & alia. Francofurti 1581.

¹⁰⁷ Tóth, *A magyar történetírás kritikája*, 616.

New Shades of Old Materials Changing Roles of Transparent Glass Artefacts in the Barbarian States of China

KRISZTINA HOPPÁL¹



The 5th-6th centuries are regarded as a transformative period of Chinese history, where an intensity of cultural metamorphosis can be detected. Changing patterns of roles of specific materials with particular cultural values attached – such as gold and silver vessels or transparent glass objects – were important elements of this era. From the late 3rd to the 6th century, North China was partially or fully ruled by non-Han people, belonging to various barbarian tribes. As a result of social and cultural interactions and the dual presence of nomadic and Chinese lifestyles, a reinterpretation of non-local objects can be outlined. While precious metal artefacts became more popular, transparent glass items gradually lost their prestigious feature and unique role. In light of such complex transformations of taste and culture, these relics can be regarded as examples of changing receptions. The paper not only aims to provide a historical and archaeological outline of this turbulent period but also focuses on the (re)adoption and (re)adaptation of precious metal and glass artefacts in 5th–6th century Northern China.

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¹ MTA-ELTE-SZTE Silk Road Research Group

² On this matter, see C.-Y. Tseng “The Making of the Tuoba Northern Wei: Constructing material cultural expressions in the Northern Wei Pingcheng Period (398–494 CE)” In: *British Archaeological Reports International Series* 2567 (2013).

cious metal artefacts became more popular, transparent glass items gradually lost their prestigious feature and unique role.

Considering such complex transformations of taste and culture, these relics can be regarded as examples of changing receptions.

The present paper not only aims to give a historical and archaeological outline of this turbulent period but also focuses on the (re)adoption and (re)adaptation of one specific group of these precious items, namely the transparent glass artefacts of the 5th–6th centuries in Northern China.

Historical outline

After the fall of the Han, corrupt officials increasingly gained control of the state, while family feuds tore the dynasty apart. As the power of the emperor weakened, military commanders acted more independently and attempted to secure power for themselves. Although it is important to note that none of these families were able to hold the power for more than a few generations, some of them maintained their influence for centuries. New social places and organisations between families and the elite were formulated and the relations between the new elite and the court changed.³ This period between the Han and the Tang dynasties, the Six Dynasties period (3rd – 6th centuries), is often recognised as an age of disunion and, to a certain degree, of chaos, but it is also marked by political, cultural and technical innovations.⁴ Furthermore, it is the age of uprising of non-Han people. The era of the Northern and Southern dynasties (420–589) is often regarded as a transformative period. A cultural and religious metamorphosis can be detected with emerging significance of the Non-Han elite. Sinicization, or more precisely a dual presence of nomadic and Chinese lifestyles, is an important characteristic of the period. The dual presence of Han and nomadic elements can be clearly detected in arts, especially in mural paintings, such as paintings from Cexian, Hebei province⁵ or in the case of human clay figurines discovered in various tombs of the period.⁶ Although Confucian values still played an important role, Buddhism, along with more practical behaviour, became widespread.⁷

Rulers of the Northern dynasties belonged to the various tribes of the Xianbei, such as the Tuoba nomads who had a different attitude towards precious

³ M. E. Lewis, *China between empires. The Northern and Southern dynasties*. Cambridge-London 2009, 28.

⁴ A. Dien, *Six Dynasties Civilization*. Yale University Press 2007, 1.

⁵ Tangchi 汤池, "Dongwei Ruru gongzhu mu bihua shitan." 东魏茹茹公主墓壁画试探 [Inquiry into the Murals in the Eastern Wei Tomb of Princess Ruru] *Wenwu* 文物 [Cultural Relics] 4 (1984), 10–15.

⁶ E.g.: Yang Hong, "From the Han to the Qing," In: *Chinese sculpture*. ed. A. Falco Howard, Li Song, Wu Hung, Yang Hong, 105–198. Yale University and Foreign Language Press 2006, 113–115.

⁷ For more details, see e.g.: Lewis, *China between empires*, 196–220.

metals and Western imports. In the following pages, case studies from the Northern Yan and the Northern Wei dynasties will be utilised to indicate the change in this concept.

The Northern Yan dynasty

The short-lived Northern Yan dynasty provided only three emperors. The history of the dynasty starts with Gao Yun, a descendant of the royal house of the Korean Koguryo Kingdom. In 397, he started his career as a middle level official of the Early Yan state. However, his military successes meant that he was soon adopted by Murong Bao, emperor of the Later Yan (384–407/409), who also assigned him the position of Duke of Xiyang. It was around this time that he became close friends with the Han general, Feng Ba. In 407 the two friends, Gao Yun and Feng Ba along with the latter's brother, Feng Sufu and their uncle Feng Wannu rebelled against the cruel emperor Murong Xi. Soon after Gao Yun claimed the throne. Depending on the historian's characterisation, Gao Yun was either the last emperor of the Xianbei state Later Yan, or the first emperor of its succeeding state Northern Yan. However, Gao Yun was assassinated in 409 and Feng Ba, enjoying complete support from the officials, took the throne. As one of his first actions, he appointed his brother, Feng Sufu, prime minister. His reign between 409 and 430 can be considered as a short period of prosperity. After a long and serious illness, Feng Ba died in 430 and Feng Hong, his new prime minister, took the throne. During Feng Hong's short reign, attacks by the neighbouring rival Northern Wei became more frequent and in 436 the Northern Wei occupied all territories of the Northern Yan. Without lands, the Northern Yan was at its end.⁸

Feng Sufu's burial and the unique glass objects of his tomb

Feng Sufu, the brother of Feng Ba and prime minister of the Northern Yan, died in 415. His family was originally from Hebei province and was technically Han, but the brothers were acculturated by Murong Xianbei. Feng Sufu's tomb is located in Liaoning province at Beipiao, Xiguanyingzi site, approximately 60 km from the place of his childhood.

The tomb was discovered in 1965.⁹ It illustrates the dual presence of Han and nomadic richness of the period.¹⁰ He was placed in a well-designed stone

⁸ Liu Ning 刘宁, "Wuyanlishiyaolu" 五燕历史要录 [Historical outline of the five Yan dynasties] in Liaoning Provincial Museum 辽宁省博物馆 (编著 ed.) 北燕冯素弗 *Beiyang Feng Sufu*, [Feng Sufu Couple's Tombs of the Northern Yan] Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社 [Cultural Relics Press] 2015, 322–351.

⁹ Li Yaobo 黎瑶渤, "Liaoning Beipiaoxian Xiguanyingzi Beiyang Feng Suofumu" 辽宁北票县西官营子北燕冯素弗墓 [Feng Sufu's tomb from Liaoning Beipiaoxian Xiguanyingzi] *Wenwu* 文物 [Cultural Relics] 3 (1973) 2–19.

sarcophagus and was furnished with writing utensils commonly found in tombs of Han official-scholars, storage jars and cooking vessels in Han style, an enormous steppe-style bronze cauldron and three gold hat ornaments interpreted as symbols of his status. Moreover, special luxury imports from the West can also be found, such as transparent glass vessels which are possibly from the Roman and Sassanian Empires.¹¹ (Fig. 1)

Both the number and condition of these precious glass items are remarkable. These rare objects are the following: An intact greenish dish with straight mouth and ring foot. Its height is 4.3 cm and its rim diameter is 13 cm. (Figs. 2-5) Since the shape of this vessel is common among both Roman and Sassanian glass assemblages, it is difficult to define its provenance without chemical composition analysis. Another find was an intact deep blue bowl with everted rim and round bottom. Its height is 8.8 cm and its rim diameter is 9.3 cm. (Figs. 6-9) It might be Sassanian, while the bluish fragmented foot of a glass cup(?) could be either Roman or Sassanian.¹² (Fig. 10) Another item is a greenish transparent deep bowl with spherical body and round bottom. Its height is 8.7 cm and its rim diameter is 9.5 cm. (Figs. 11-14) According to the chemical composition analysis, the slightly fragmented object is Sassanian.¹³ It is important to note that regardless the above results, the Chinese glass expert An Jiayao interpreted all these vessels as Roman artefacts, even in her recent study.¹⁴

¹⁰ Dien, *Six Dynasties Civilization*, 104–105.

¹¹ Liaoning Provincial Museum 辽宁省博物馆, “Di yihaomu” 第一号墓 [Tomb no. 1] in Liaoning Provincial Museum 辽宁省博物馆 (编著 ed.) 北燕冯素弗 *Beiyan Feng Sufu* [Feng Sufu Couple’s Tombs of the Northern Yan], Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社 [Cultural Relics Press] 2015, 8–99.

¹² K. Hoppál, *Contextualizing the comparative perceptions of Rome and China through written sources and archaeological data*. (PhD dissertation) 2015, 116–118. – Thesis abstract published in *Dissertationes Archaeologicae* Ser. 3. No.3 (2015) 285–302.

¹³ Gan Fuxi 干福熹, “Sichouzhi Lu Cujin Zhongguo Gudai Boli Jishu de Fazhan” 丝绸之路促进中国古代玻璃技术的发展 [Ancient glasses from the Silk Road in China] In: *Zhongguo Gudai Boli Jishu de Fazhan*, 中国古代玻璃技术的发展 [Ancient Glass Art of China] ed. Gan, Fuxi 干福熹 Shanghai 上海 2005, 247; Gan Fuxi 干福熹, “Sichouzhi Lushangde Gudai Boli Yanjiu” 丝绸之路上的古代玻璃研究 [Study on ancient Glass along the Silk Road] “2004 nian Wulumuqi Zhongguo Beifang Boli Yantao Hui he 2005 nian Shanghai Guoji Boli Kaogu Yantao Hui Lunwen Ji” 2004 年乌鲁木齐中国北方古玻璃研讨会和 2005 年上海国际玻璃考古研讨会论文集 [*Proceedings of 2004 Urumqi Symposium on Ancient Glass in Northern China and 2005 Shanghai International Workshop of Archaeology of Glass*]. 上海 Shanghai 2007, 93.

¹⁴ An Jiayao 安家瑶, “Zhongguo de zaoqi boliqi min” 中国的早期玻璃器皿 [Early Glass Vessels in China] In: *Kaogu Xuebao* 考古学报 [Acta Archaeologica Sinica] 4 (1984) 414–447; An Jiayao, “The Art of Glass Along the Silk Road,” In: *China. Dawn of a Golden Age, 200–700 AD*. ed. J. C. Watt, New York 2004, 60, 132; An Jiayao 安家瑶, “Feng Sufumu chutu de boliqi,” 冯素弗墓出土的玻璃器 [Glassvessels of Feng Sufu’s tomb] in Liaoning Provincial Museum 辽宁省博物馆 (编著 ed.) *Beiyan Feng Sufu* 北燕冯素弗 [Feng Sufu Couple’s Tombs of the Northern Yan], Wenwu

One of the most frequently cited items is an unusual bluish duck-shaped vessel with long neck, bulging body and long slender tail. It has a flat, open mouth, similar to a beak. Its length is 20.5 cm and its body diameter is 5.2 cm. (Figs. 15-18) The bowl might be comparable with the glass crocodile, probably from the collection of the Corning Museum of Glass in Egypt.¹⁵ (Fig. 19) However, according to the catalogue, the crocodile dated to the 1st century is an appliqué not a vessel.¹⁶ Moreover, the artistic and detailed features of the duck-shaped glass might be comparable to the glass finds of Begram (the boat-shaped flask in particular), dated to the 1st century as well.¹⁷ (Fig. 20) At any rate, while the duck shaped glass has analogies from the 1st century (or the 3rd if we accept other dates of Begram), the owner of the tomb lived in the 5th century. This situation indicates the problems of hoarding or treasuring as a long-lasting act.

At the same time, regardless of the problems of dating and provenance, the number and quality of glass objects found in Feng Sufu's tomb suggests a transformation of the role of transparent glass vessels of the period.

Glass objects from burials of the Feng clan

Other examples of changing reception of transparent glass vessels can be found in tombs of the Northern Wei. The powerful and long-lived dynasty was founded by Tuoba tribesman and unified the North in 386. Their capital was Pingcheng or – as it was called earlier – Datong until the court was transferred to Luoyang in 495. The rule of the dynasty was characterised by strong militarism. They were able to improve and stabilise the economy through effective land reforms and forced deportations of peasants.¹⁸ The Weis did not only use the Han administration but also imposed Chinese manners and customs. They

Chubanshe 文物出版社 [Cultural Relics Press] 2015, 227–233.

¹⁵ H. Kinoshita, "Foreign glass excavated in China from the 4th to 12th centuries," In: *Byzantine Trade 4th – 12th Centuries. The Archaeology of Local, Regional and International Exchange. Papers of the Thirty-eight Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies. St. John's College, University of Oxford, March 2004.* ed. M. Mundell Mango, Farnham – Burlington 2009, 253–254.

¹⁶ D. Whitehouse, *Roman Glass in the Corning Museum of Glass*. Vol. 2. New York 2001, 238.

¹⁷ Examples are the following items: Inv. nos. MG 19087; 19091; 21276 and MG 21840. <http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/museums/mg/begram.html> [Accessed: 2015.06.07.] On Begram e.g.: P. Cambon, "The Begram glasses from Afghanistan" In: B. Zorn, A. Hilgner (eds.), *Glass along the Silk Road from 200 B. C. to 1000 A. D. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Forschungsinstitut für Archäologie* 9 (2010), 82–85; R. H. Brill, "A Laboratory Study of a Fragment of Painted Glass from Begram" *Afghanistan* 25/2 (1972), 75–81.

¹⁸ J. C. Watt, "Art and History in China from the Third to the Eighth Century" In: *China. Dawn of a Golden Age, 200–700 AD*, ed. J. C. Watt, New York 2004, 21–24.

also took control of trade routes to Central Asia.¹⁹ The Wei rulers were great patrons of Buddhism which soon became a state religion.

Significant transparent glass vessels were unearthed in tombs of the Feng clan that were discovered near Hongtuncun site, Hebei province.

The tombs were discovered in 1948 and are therefore poorly documented. The unearthed objects were simply arranged into find-groups without any detail or description being provided.²⁰ The tombs were connected to five known members of the Feng clan. All of them were important military and administrative officials of the Northern Wei. The furnishings included more than 300 objects: 11 bronze vessels, 195 clay figurines and transparent glass vessels again.

One of these peculiar items was discovered in Feng Monu's tomb.²¹ The official died in 483/484 but was reburied in 521. Therefore, it is a matter in question whether the bowl was placed right after Feng Monu's death or only after his exhumation. Moreover, its shape is also quite common. It is a greenish bowl with yellowish irisation and it has a straight mouth, rounded rim and short foot ring. Its height is 4.4 cm and its mouth diameter is 11.4 cm. An incised pattern below the rim can be found. (Fig. 21)

Although it is problematic to define the origin of Feng Monu's glass bowl,²² another transparent glass object from Lady Zu's burial might help to provide a possible solution.²³ The greenish cup has a slightly everted mouth, spherical body and foot ring. Its height is 6.7 cm and its mouth diameter is 10.3 cm. (Figs. 22-23) Its net pattern is similar to the Sassanian glass bowl from the collection of Corning Museum of Glass.²⁴ However, more remarkable analogies can be

¹⁹ C. Holcombe, "The Xianbei in Chinese History" *Early Medieval China* 19 (2013), 1–38.

²⁰ A short report was published in 1957: Zhang Li 张季, "Hebei Jingxian Fengshi mujun diaocha ji," 河北景县封氏墓群调查记 [Examination of the Feng family tomb groups at Jing county Hebei] *Kaogutongxun* 考古通讯 [Archeological Newsletter] 3 (1957), 28–37. More recent data: <http://baike.baidu.com/view/418774.htm> [Accessed: 2013.04.04.]

²¹ The Chinese report also mentions another glass bowl, but it has been lost. See: An Jiayao 安家瑶, "Wei, Jin, Nanbeichao shiqi de bolijishu," 魏、晋、南北朝时期的玻璃技术 [Glass art of the Wei, Jin and Northern and Southern dynasties] In: *Zhongguo Gudai Boli Jishu de Fazhan* 中国古代玻璃技术的发展 [Ancient Glass Art of China] ed. Gan, Fuxi 干福熹, Shanghai 上海 2005, 116–117.

²² An Jiayao recognised it as a Roman product, but her evidences are not convincing. An Jiayao, "Glassvessels and Ornaments of the Wei, Jin and Northern Dynasties" In: *Chinese Glass: Archaeological Studies on the Uses and Social Context of Glass Artefacts from the Warring States to the Northern Song Period*. ed. C. Braghin, Firenze 2002, 50–51. For more details, see K. Hoppál, *Contextualizing the comparative perceptions...*, 122.

²³ Two glass objects were originally discovered but have subsequently been destroyed, see Zhang Li, *Hebei Jingxian Fengshi mujun diaocha ji*

²⁴ D. Whitehouse, *Roman Glass in the Corning Museum of Glass*, 23.

found in the capital of the Korean Silla Kingdom, Gyeongju.²⁵ According to the chemical composition analyses, some of these Korean glass finds were made in Western Asia.²⁶ (Fig. 24) The literary sources from the 5th century indicate that the glass making technique of transparent vessels was not only known in Western Asia but was also introduced to the Chinese court.²⁷ It is also important to consider that China became acknowledged with its glass-blowing technique in the 6th century, the period when Lady Zu, wife of Feng Longzhi, had died.²⁸ Therefore, it is possible that glass vessels of the Feng clan were locally made or at least originated from Asia rather than from the Roman or Sassanian Empires.

The new shades of old materials

To get a better understanding of the changing role of transparent glass vessels, it is important to be familiar with their perceptions before the 5th–6th centuries. Due to the fact that a detailed study of the subject was recently published by the author, only a short summary will be presented below.

Compared to the later periods, a relatively small number of imported western glass objects dated before the 5th–6th centuries were discovered in the eastern coastal part of China.²⁹ Among them, two main groups of transparent glass vessels – previously interpreted as Roman – can be formed on the basis of date and localisation: the Ganquan Region and the Nanjing Region.³⁰ (Fig. 25)

²⁵ An Jiayao, *The Art of Glass Along the Silk Road*, 157; I. Lee, “Early Glass in Korean Tombs – Cultural Context” In: B. Zorn, A. Hilgner (eds), *Glass along the Silk Road from 200 BC to AD 1000. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Forschungsinstitut für Archäologie* 9 (2010), 213.

²⁶ M. J. Koh, H. T. Kang, N. Y. Kim, G. H. Kim, “A Comparison in Characteristics of Chemical Composition of Glass Vessels Excavated from Neungsalli Temple in Buyeo, Korea, from Baekje Period” *Bulletin of Korean Chemical Society* 33.12 (2012), 4173–4179. However, archaeological evidence of glassmaking in the region is very poor; therefore, the possibility that the object was produced in the Sassanian Empire cannot be excluded. J. W. Lankton, B. Gratuze, G. H. Kim, L. Dussubieux, I. Lee, “Silk Road in Ancient Korea. The Contribution of Chemical Composition Analysis” In: B. Zorn, A. Hilgner (eds), *Glass along the Silk Road from 200 BC to AD 1000. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Forschungsinstitut für Archäologie* 9 (2010), 234–236.

²⁷ Beishi quan jiushiqi Dayuezhi chuan 北史卷九十七大月氏傳. See: Li Yanshou 李延寿, *Beishi* 北史 [History of the Northern Dynasties]. Zhonghua Shuju chubanshe 中华书局出版社, 1974.

²⁸ An Jiayao, *The Art of Glass Along the Silk Road*, 58.

²⁹ Although this number is quite remarkable in comparison with other Roman objects discovered beyond India in Antiquity.

³⁰ There is a third group, the Xinjiang one. However, it is important to take into account that the social context of the Roman (and Roman-influenced) glass finds that were discovered in Xinjiang-Uyghur Autonomous Region, regarding the

All the glass vessels of the above groups were discovered in the burial sites of emperors and their closest men: a well-defined and limited stratum of Chinese aristocracy, with not only considerable wealth but also prestige.

Besides archaeological records, references to transparent glass vessels in histories, poems, discourses, biographies and other works also help us to learn more about how they were perceived in the contemporary Chinese society.³¹ These sources present the glass vessels as being exotic, rare, jade-like materials, although in their place of origin i.e. the Roman or the Sasanian Empire, they can be regarded as common items of glass manufacture. As the archaeological evidence shows, the technique of glass blowing was unknown in China until presumably the 6th century, while some early texts assume that the method of glass making was misunderstood by the Chinese society.³² Due to the lack of glass blowing and confusion regarding glass making techniques, transparent glass vessels were considered to be mysterious. As a result of their transparency and jade-like features, they might have been considered as having a ritual role as well. Based on the archaeological data, we might assume that these vessels were prestige goods, cherished and possibly treasured for their rarity, transparency, mystical and ritual features. Moreover, due to being imported from distant places, they might also be symbols of foreign connections and were being used for advertising social power.³³

In contrast, the role of the transparent glass vessels changed after the 5th–6th century. A practical explanation of this metamorphosis can be found in Chinese historical sources. According to the *Bei Shi* (History of the Northern Dynasties compiled during the Tang dynasty 618–907), the glass blowing technique was introduced to the Chinese court by Western Asian Yuezhi 月氏 traders during the 5th century.³⁴ As it was recorded “from this time on (i.e. the rule of Tuoba Tao between 424 and 452) glass became cheaper in China and people no longer regarded it as precious.”³⁵ The *Wei Shu* (Book of the Wei compiled during the Northern Qi dynasty, 550–557) also states that an imperial edict was then issued to use glass for decorating an audience hall which was

cultural-ethnic diversity of the area, differs from the background of glass objects that were discovered in the eastern coastal part of China.

³¹ A great summary is displayed by An Jiayao. See An Jiayao., *Glass vessels and Ornaments of the Wei, Jin and Northern Dynasties*, 56–59.

³² Namely the Baopuzi, ‘The master who embraces simplicity’ written by the taoist philosopher, Ge Hong 葛洪 (283?/284?–343). Ge Hong Baopuzi neipian juaner lunxian 葛洪抱朴子内篇卷二論仙. An Jiayao, *Glass vessels and Ornaments of the Wei, Jin and Northern Dynasties*, 46.

³³ For a more detailed bibliography, see: K. Hoppál, “Contextualising Roman-related Glass Artefacts in China. An Integrated Approach to Sino-Roman Relations” *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 67 (2016), 99–114.

³⁴ Beishi quan jiushiqi Dayuezhi chuan 北史卷九十七大月氏傳. See: Li Yanshou 李延寿, *Beishi* 北史 [History of the Northern Dynasties]. Zhonghua Shuju chubanshe 中华书局出版社, 1974.

³⁵ An Jiayao., *Glass vessels and Ornaments of the Wei, Jin and Northern Dynasties*, 64–65.

capable of accommodating over a hundred people.³⁶ These reports can be regarded as the earliest records on the greater practical value of glass vessels and also describe the presence of West Asian glass manufacturing in the vicinity of the Northern Wei capital i.e. present day Datong. Although it would not be wise to place faith in the overall factual reliability of the above accounts, it is a fact that the increasing number of glass discoveries after this period is conspicuous. Besides the previously described vessels, another widely known and cited example must be mentioned: the case of the Datong vessels. A remarkable number of transparent, free blown glass bowls, bottles and other fragments were unearthed from sites located in the Datong area. While finds with artistic features were mainly imported from the Sassanian Empire,³⁷ some of the undecorated objects along with other finds from Dingxian pagoda were made regionally according to An Jiayao's assumption.³⁸

From the 6th century onwards, transparent glass vessels became even more popular among the Chinese elite and started to spread across China. A great majority of locally produced glasses were discovered in burials and Buddhist temples of the Sui and Tang dynasties. These objects typically have a greenish colour, asymmetric form, thin wall, rough surface and visible bubbles; additionally, their shape is identical with the porcelains and ceramics of the Sui and Tang dynasties.³⁹ Although imported glass objects still had a remarkable place in the nobles' treasuries – as can be seen in examples such as through the Islamic wares of the Famen temple, Shaanxi province⁴⁰ or the West Asian vessels

³⁶ In the *Weishu* “世祖时，其国人商贩京师，自云能铸石为五色琉璃，于是采矿山中，于京师铸之。既成，光泽乃美于西方来者。乃诏为行殿，容百余人，光色映彻。观者见之，莫不惊骇，以为神明所作。至此中国琉璃遂贱，人不复珍之” 《魏书·西域传·大月氏国传》 For translation, see e.g. E. H. Hsu, *Patronage, Kiln Origin, and Iconography of the Yixian Luohans*, Leiden-Boston 2016, 39–40.

³⁷ Wang Yintian 王银田, “Sashan Bosiyu Beiwei Pingcheng,” 萨珊波斯与北魏平城 [Persia of the Sushan Dynasty and Ping Cheng, Capital City of the Northern Wei Dynasty] In: *Dunhuang Yanjiu* 敦煌研究 [Dunhuang Research] 2 (2005), 53–54.

³⁸ An Jiayao, “Glasses from the Northern Wei dynasty found at Datong,” In: *Ancient Glass Research along the Silk Road*, ed. Gan Fuxi, R. H. Brill, Tian Shouyun, Singapore 2009, 379–385.

³⁹ E.g.: Wang Xiaomeng, “On glass ware from tombs of the Sui and Tang dynasties,” In: B. Zorn, A. Hilgner (eds), *Glass along the Silk Road from 200 BC to AD 1000. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Forschungsinstitut für Archäologie* 9 (2010), 163–175. It is important to take into account that in some cases there is some debate regarding where the glass was made. An example of this is the eight transparent glass objects that were found in the tomb of Li Jingxun of the Sui dynasty. See e.g.: Wu Jui-man, “Exotic Goods as Mortuary Display in Sui Dynasty Tombs – A Case Study of Li Jingxun's Tomb”, In: K. Linduff (ed.) *Silk Road Exchange in China. Sino-Platonic Papers* 142 (2004), 49–64, 53.

⁴⁰ An Jiayao, “Shitan Zhongguo jinnian chutu de Yisilan boliqu” 试探中国近年出土的伊斯兰玻璃器 [Approach to the Islamic glasses unearthed in China in recent years] *Kaogu* 考古 [Archaeology] 12 (1990), 1116–1126.

of the Kang Mausoleum, Guangzhou province⁴¹ – Chinese high-quality glass wares also became frequent in tombs of prominent members of the society.⁴²

In addition to practical reasons, a more abstract motive might also have played a role in the changing reception of transparent glass vessels: the altered taste of the non-Han elite. Although Han traditions (or Sinicization in many aspects) had an important impact on the culture of the nomadic dynasties of the 5th–6th century China,⁴³ customs and trends connected to their previous lifestyle were also introduced. Attraction to luxury vessels is one of the many examples. As B. I. Marshak has observed, objects made of bronze and jade were traditionally associated with wealth and prosperity while western imported metal works and their replicas only became fashionable between the 3rd and the mid-8th centuries when nomadic peoples, along with Central Asian traders, started to play an important role in the Chinese society.⁴⁴

The strong existence of the nomadic attitude can be clearly detected in the Northern Wei court and it increased when the capital was moved to Luoyang and the Xianbei was divided into two groups after 495. Those who remained in the north became Xianbei-ized and even some of the ethnically Hans gained Xianbei identity.⁴⁵ As C. Gosden has revealed, there was concurrently a necessity of destabilising older values in order to create new material forms.⁴⁶ In accordance, old practices were in some ways sidelined or were simply incorporated into the new synthesis.

⁴¹ An Jiayao, "Glass Vessels of the Tang Dynasty and the Five Dynasties found in Guangzhou," In: *Ancient Glass Research along the Silk Road*, ed. Gan Fuxi, R. H. Brill, Tian Shouyun, Singapore 2009, 387–395.

⁴² Lu Chi, "The inspiration of the Silk Road for Chinese glass art," In: *Ancient Glass Research along the Silk Road*, ed. Gan Fuxi, R. H. Brill, Tian Shouyun, Singapore 2009, 270–272.

⁴³ Debates on this with further bibliography: Tseng, *The Making of the Tuoba Northern Wei*, 12–16.

⁴⁴ B. I. Marshak, "Central Asian Metalwork in China" In: *China. Dawn of a Golden Age, 200–700 AD*, ed. J. C. Watt, New York 2004, 47.

⁴⁵ Holcombe, *The Xianbei in Chinese History*, 28.

⁴⁶ C. Gosden, *Archaeology and Colonialism*, Cambridge, 2004. Also: Tseng, *The Making of the Tuoba Northern Wei*, 14.

Chin-Yin Tseng suggested that the result of this was as follows: “By combining old traditions/objects with new practices/applications, visual representations and material forms were (re)created and (re)interpreted”.⁴⁷ As was illustrated through the above cases, the changed perception of transparent glass vessels fits into this pattern. Due to the spread of the glass blowing technique, transparent glass vessels became more frequent and easily available. They were still regarded as expensive and precious items but because of the more practical attitude of their (non-Han) owners they were lacking mystical features. As they became effortlessly accessible, they were used more widely, not only as tomb furnishings and treasures of emperors but common utensils of Buddhist rituals as well.

⁴⁷ Tseng, *The Making of the Tuoba Northern Wei*, 13.

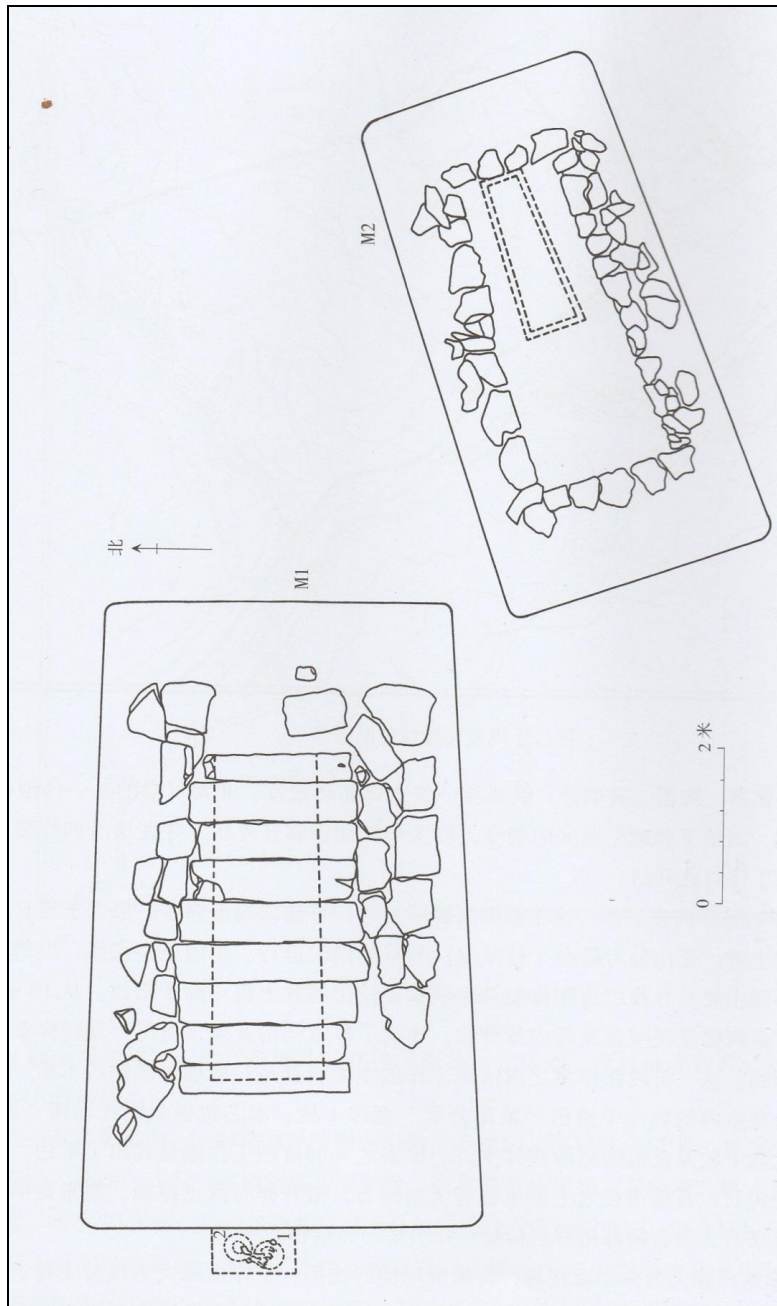


Figure 1. Liaoning Provincial Museum 辽宁省博物馆, “Di yi hao mu 第一号墓
Di yi hao mu [Tomb no. 1]” in Liaoning Provincial Museum 辽宁省博物馆
(编著 ed.) 北燕冯素弗 *Beiyān Fēng Sùfú* [Feng Sufu Couple’s Tombs of the
Northern Yan], Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社 [Cultural Relics Press] 2015, 6.

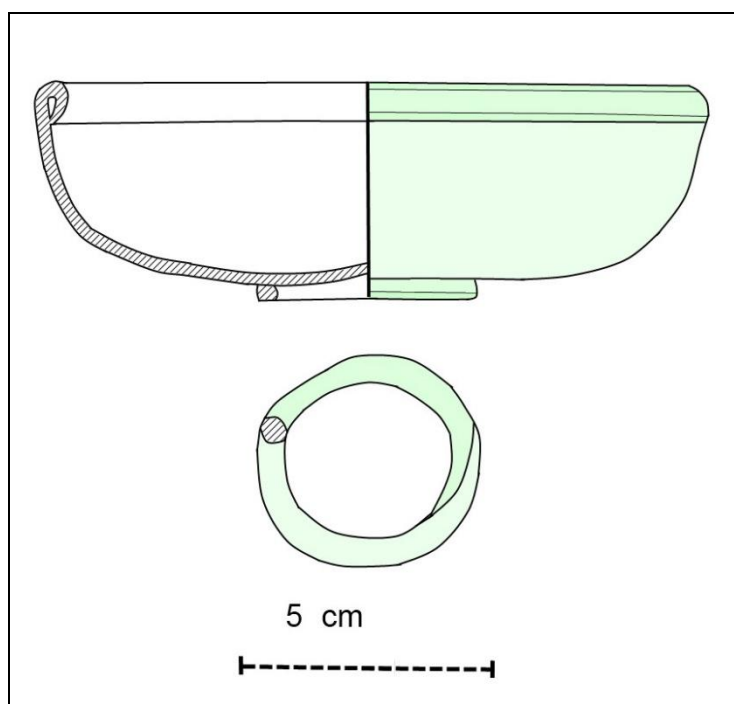


Figure 2. Based on Li Yaobo 黎瑶渤, "Liaoning Beipiaoxian Xiguanyingzi Beiyang Feng Suofumu 辽宁北票县西官营子北燕冯素弗墓 [Feng Sufu's tomb from Liaoning Beipiaoxian Xiguanyingzi]" *Wenwu* 文物 [Cultural Relics] 3 (1973)



Figure 3. Liaoning Provincial Museum 辽宁省博物馆, "Di yi hao mu 第一号墓 Di yi hao mu [Tomb no. 1]" in Liaoning Provincial Museum 辽宁省博物馆 (编著 ed.) 北燕冯素弗 *Beiyang Feng Sufu* [Feng Sufu Couple's Tombs of the Northern Yan], Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社 [Cultural Relics Press] 2015, Plate 29. (Fig. 3-5.)

NEW SHADES OF OLD MATERIALS...



Figure 4.



Figure 5.

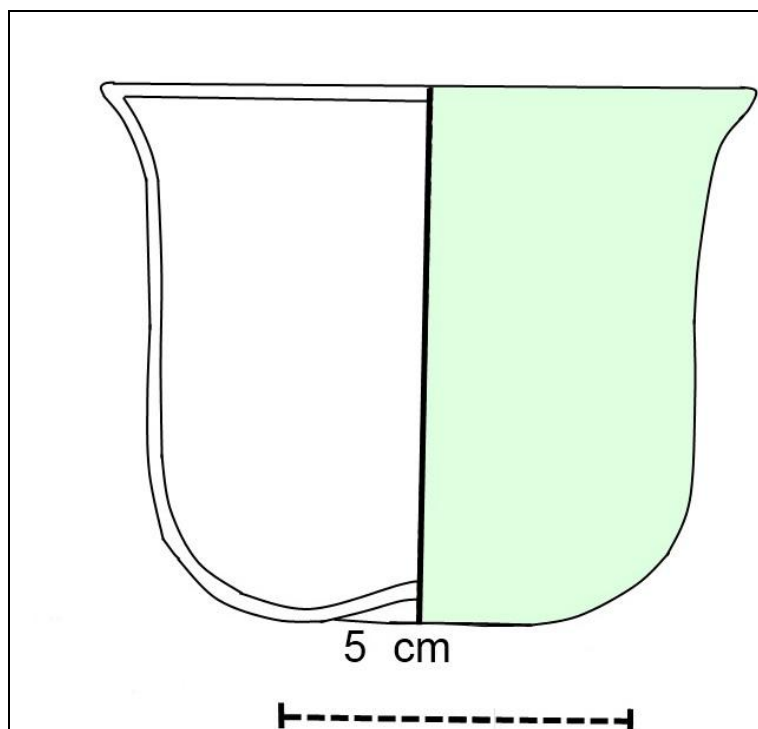


Figure 6. Based on Li Yaobo 黎瑶渤, "Liaoning Beipiaoxian Xiguanyingzi Beiyen Feng Suofumu 辽宁北票县西官营子北燕冯索弗墓 [Feng Sufu's tomb from Liaoning Beipiaoxian Xiguanyingzi]" *Wenwu* 文物 [Cultural Relics] 3 (1973)



Figure 7. Liaoning Provincial Museum 辽宁省博物馆, "Di yi hao mu 第一号墓
Di yi hao mu [Tomb no. 1]" in Liaoning Provincial Museum 辽宁省博物馆
(编著 ed.) 北燕冯素弗 *Beiyān Fēng Sūfū* [Feng Sufu Couple's Tombs of the
Northern Yan], Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社 [Cultural Relics Press] 2015,
Plate 31. (Fig. 7-9.)



Figure 8.



Figure 9.

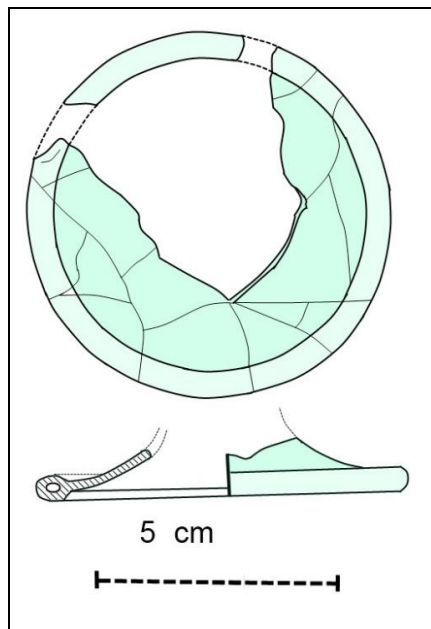


Figure 10. Based on Li Yaobo 黎瑶渤, "Liaoning Beipiaoxian Xiguanyingzi Beiyang Feng Suofumu 辽宁北票县西官营子北燕冯索弗墓 [Feng Sufu's tomb from Liaoning Beipiaoxian Xiguanyingzi]" *Wenwu* 文物 [Cultural Relics] 3 (1973)

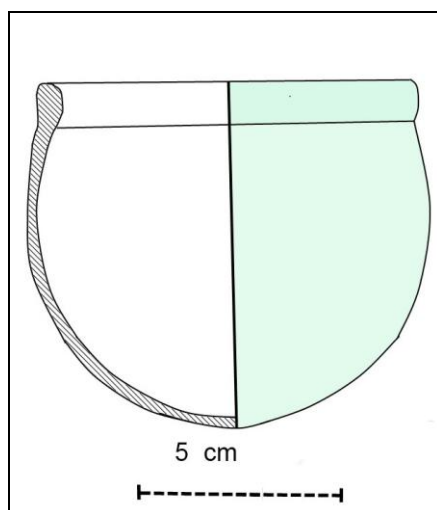


Figure 11. Based on Li Yaobo 黎瑶渤, "Liaoning Beipiaoxian Xiguanyingzi Beiyang Feng Suofumu 辽宁北票县西官营子北燕冯索弗墓 [Feng Sufu's tomb from Liaoning Beipiaoxian Xiguanyingzi]" *Wenwu* 文物 [Cultural Relics] 3 (1973)

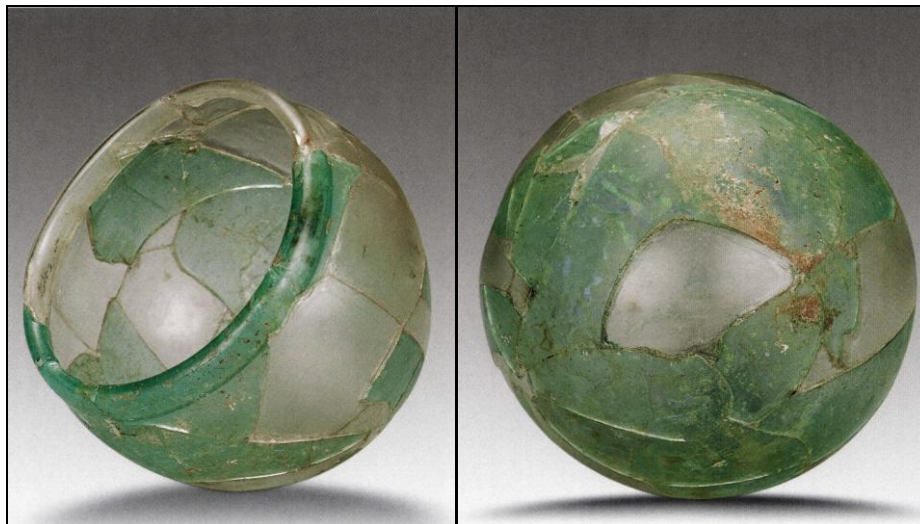


Figure 12.

Figure 13.

Liaoning Provincial Museum 辽宁省博物馆, "Di yi hao mu 第一号墓 Di yi hao mu [Tomb no. 1]" in Liaoning Provincial Museum 辽宁省博物馆 (编著 ed.) 北燕冯素弗 *Beiyan Feng Sufu* [Feng Sufu Couple's Tombs of the Northern Yan], Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社 [Cultural Relics Press] 2015, 32. (Fig. 12-14)



Figure 14.

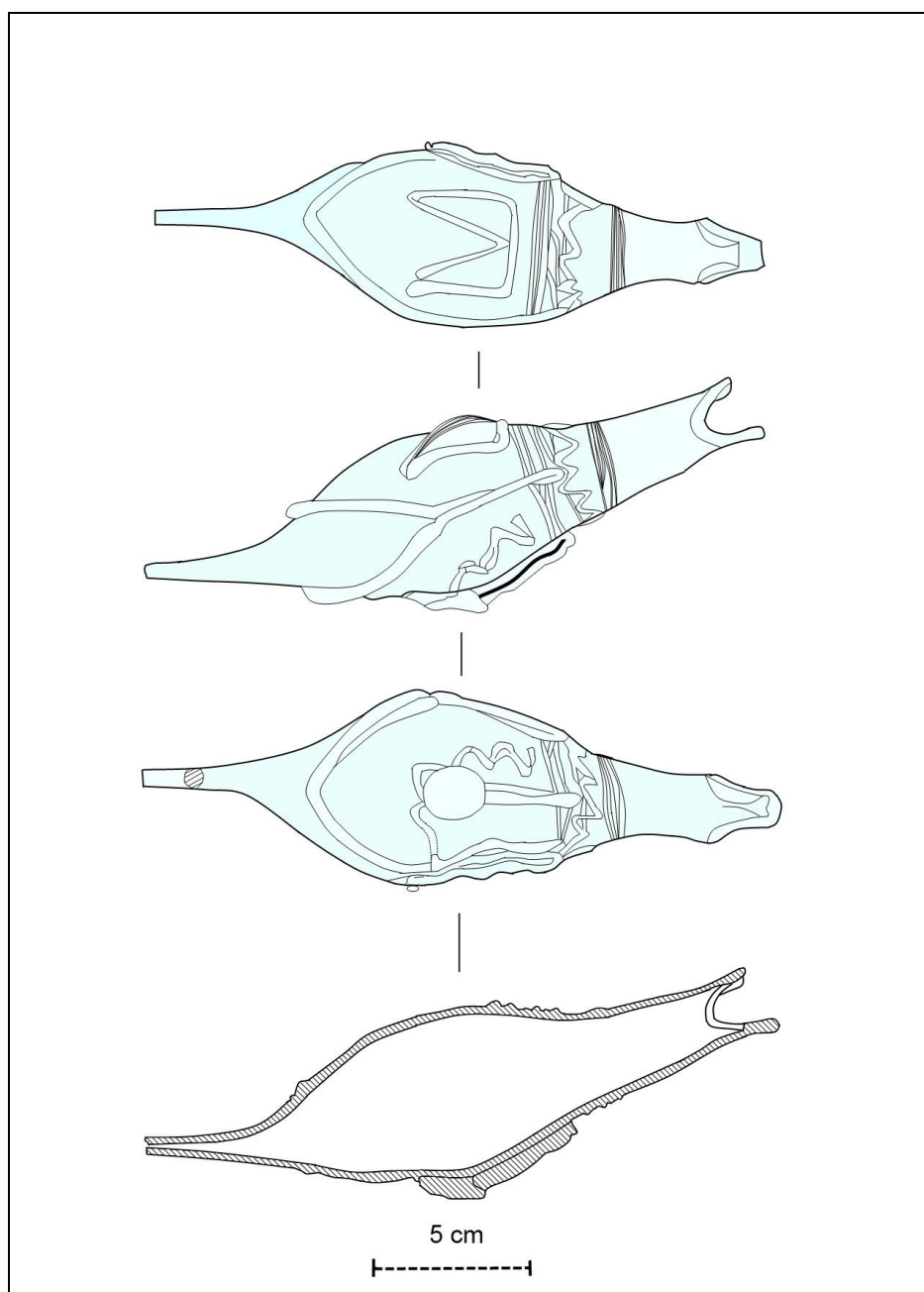


Figure 15. Based on Li Yaobo 黎瑶渤, "Liaoning Beipiaoxian Xiguanyingzi Beiyang Feng Suofumu 辽宁北票县西官营子北燕冯索弗墓 [Feng Sufu's tomb from Liaoning Beipiaoxian Xiguanyingzi]" *Wenwu* 文物 [Cultural Relics] 3 (1973)



Figure 16. Liaoning Provincial Museum 辽宁省博物馆, "Di yi hao mu 第一号墓
Di yi hao mu [Tomb no. 1]" in Liaoning Provincial Museum 辽宁省博物馆
(编著 ed.) 北燕冯素弗 *Beiyan Feng Sufu* [Feng Sufu Couple's Tombs of the
Northern Yan], Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社 [Cultural Relics Press] 2015, 30.
(Fig. 16-18.)



Figure 17.



Figure 18.



Figure 19. D. Whitehouse, *Roman Glass in the Corning Museum of Glass*. Vol. 2. New York 2001, 238.



Figure 20. <http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/museums/mg/begram.html> [Accessed: 04.01.2017.]



Figure 21. Gan Fuxi 干福熹, "Sichou zhi Lu Cujin Zhongguo Gudai Boli Jishu de Fazhan 丝绸之路促进中国古代玻璃技术的发展 [Ancient glasses from the Silk Road in China]" in: 干福熹 Gan, Fuxi (著 ed.), *Zhongguo Gudai Boli Jishu de Fazhan 中国古代玻璃技术的发展 [Ancient Glass Art of China]*, Shanghai 上海 2005, xv.

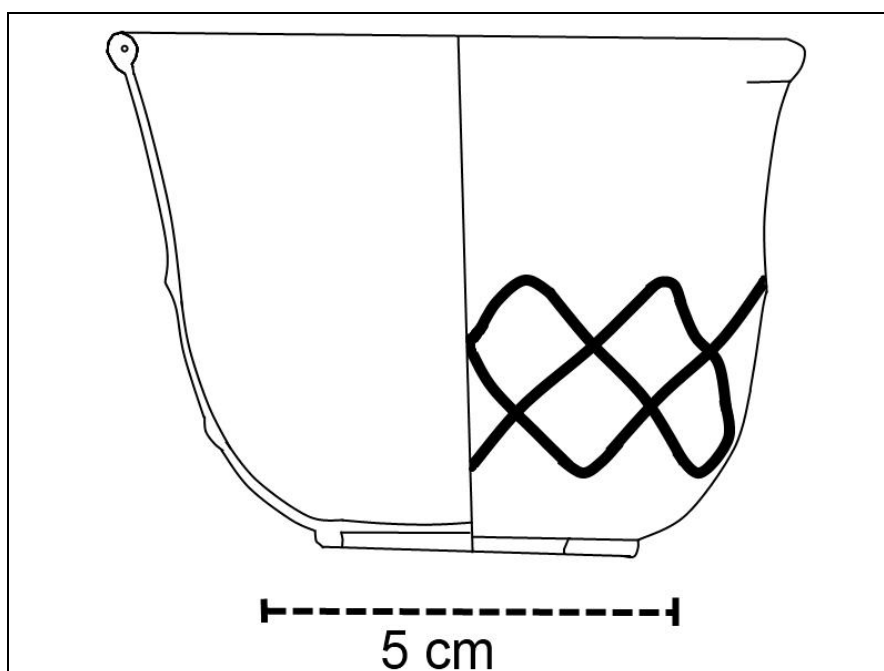


Figure 22. Based on Zhang Li 张季, "Hebei Jingxian Fengshi mujun diaochaji 河北景县封氏墓群调查记 [Examination of the Feng family tomb groups at Jing county Hebei]" *Kaogutongxun* 考古通讯 [Archeological Newsletter] 3 (1957)



Figure 23. http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_12c553c2c0102vruh.html
[Accessed: 04.01.2017.]



Figure 24. I. Lee, “Early Glass in Korean Tombs – Cultural Context” in B. Zorn – A. Hilgner (eds), *Glass along the Silk Road from 200 BC to AD 1000. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Forschungsinstitut für Archäologie* 9 (2010), 213.

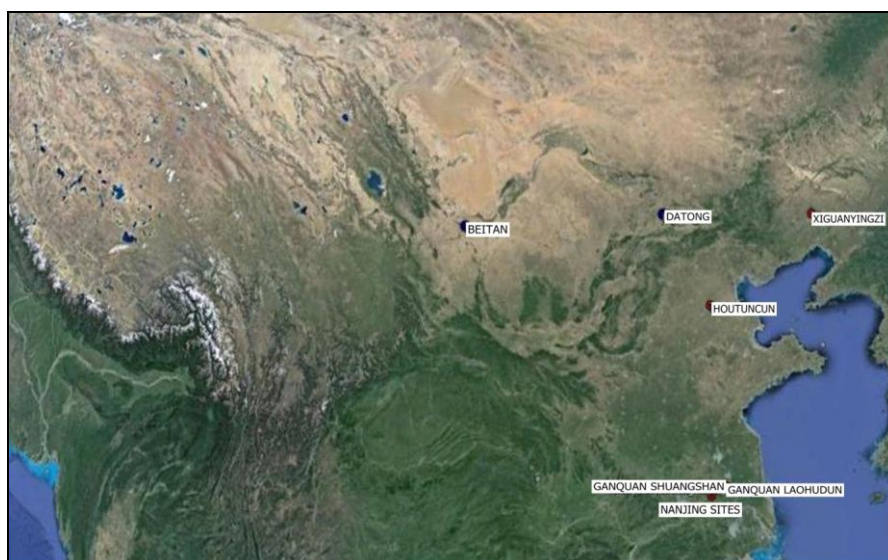


Figure 25. Based on Google Earth

Military Organisation and the Warfare of the Türk Qaghanate

MUTLU KAHRAMAN*



The Türk Qaghanate (552-744), widening its power and territory throughout the Asian steppes, became tough components of the great sedentary civilizations. Its power was based on military strength, creating a vast empire from China to Byzantine. In the Chinese and Turkic indigenous sources, there are no detailed descriptions about their warfare. Yet still we can find some clues in the Chinese sources, such as the travel books of the Buddhist pilgrims. For instance, during his travels, Xuang Zang met Türk Qaghan while he was hunting and he described his and his soldier's basic clothing and warfare. Kül Tegin's inscription as an indigenous source is very important for describing their weapons. The purpose of the research is to reveal the basic war tactics and weapons in the time of the Türk Qaghanate in the light of the written sources and partially archeological data.

During the Early Middle Ages, the Türks, a nomadic people of Central Asia, united all the Eurasian Steppe tribes in a great empire. The Türk Qaghanate, stretching from Manchuria in the East to the Crimea in the West, became a rival to the Chinese Tang, the Persian Sassanid, and the Byzantine empires in the second half of the 6th century A.D. The Türk Qaghanate dominated almost the whole of the Eurasian Steppe zone from the 6th to the middle of the 8th century A.D.¹ Only the Chingissid Empire could build a more spacious nomadic empire including China and the eastern part of the Middle East. The most im-

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¹ On the Türk Empire: P. B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*, Wiesbaden 1992; *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, Ed. Denis Sinor, Cambridge 2008; S. G. Kliashtrnyj, *Istoriia Central'noi Azii i Pamiatniki Runnicheskogo Pis'ma*, Sankt-Petersburg 2003; Ahmet Taşağıl, *Gök-Türkler I-II-III*, Ankara 2014; M. Dobrovits, *Égi kagánok eltűnt birodalma. A türk nép és a türk birodalmak története 439-745*, [Withered Empire of Heavenly Qaghans. The history of the Türk people and the Türk Empires] Budapest 2004. Unpublished PhD dissertation; A new overview of the Western Türk Empire: *Zapadnii Tiurkskii Kaganat. Atlas*, ed. A. Dosymbaeva, M. Zholdasbekov, Astana 2013.

portant factor of building an empire is successful conquests in general and this is true for nomads.²

As for the Türks, their genuine sources, the Türk runic inscriptions from the first half of the 8th century, emphasised the importance of creating a new army to be successful in building a new empire. According to the famous and often quoted phrases of the Kül Tegin Inscription (732 A.D.), a new state/empire (*el*) is based on military power: "My father, the Qaghan, went off with seventeen men. Having heard the news that (İlteriš) was marching off, those who were in the towns went up to the mountains and those who were on the mountains came down (from there), thus they gathered and numbered to seventy men. Because Tenri granted strength, the soldiers of my father, the Qaghan, were like wolves, and his enemies were like sheep. Having gone on campaigns forward and backward, they gathered together and he collected men; they all numbered seven hundred men. After they had numbered seven hundred men, (my father, the Qaghan,) organized and ordered the people who had lost their state and their Qaghan (Kül Tegin East-12, 13)."³

To study the military system of the Türk Qaghanate in the indigenous and foreign sources, the pictorial material and archaeological findings must be taken into consideration. The oldest written sources that give us some descriptions about the military features of the Türks are the Chinese sources, such as Zhou-shu, Sui-shu and Tang-shu, respectively.⁴ According to Liu-Mau-Tsai's chart, the Türks fought against the Chinese 410 times between 542 and 764 A.D.,⁵ although some of these attacks might have been smaller raids. The Chinese annals mentioned the Türks very often because of these frequent relations. On the other hand, the Greek source Strategikon – attributed to Emperor Maurice (582-602 A.D.), and written in the late 6th century A.D. – is another important early source that basically codified the military reforms of the Byzantine army.⁶ The work of Jahiz, 'Exploits of the Türks', described the military merits

² On nomadic empires and warfare, see P. B. Golden, "War and Warfare in the Pre-Cinggisid Western Steppes of Eurasia," In: *Studies on the People and Cultures of the Eurasian Steppes*, ed. P. B. Golden, București-Braila 2011. Drompp formulated it as follows: "Nomads established and maintained their empires through the use and thread of violence." M. R. Drompp, "Strategies of Cohesion and Control in the Türk and Uyghur Empires," In: *Complexity of Interaction along the Eurasian Steppe Zone in the First Millennium CE*, ed. J. Bemmman, M. Schmuder, Bonn 2015, 437–453.

³ T. Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, Bloomington 1968, 265.

⁴ Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die Chinesischen Nachrichten Zur Geschichte Der Ost-Türken (T'u Kue) I-II.*, Wiesbaden 1958; E. Chavannes, *Documents Sur Les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, St. Pétersbourg 1903.

⁵ Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die Chinesischen Nachrichten*, 433–439.

⁶ E. N. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire*, Harward University Press 2009.

of the nomadic Türks in the second half of the 9th century.⁷ The most important indigenous sources are the Türk runic inscriptions (early 8th century) including many campaigns against the other nomadic peoples and wars against the Chinese. On the basis of the runic sources, there are several relevant pieces of data concerning their warfare.⁸ Besides the written sources, archaeological and pictorial sources can shed light on the warfare of the Türks. Chinese mortuary beds, Sogdian wall paintings, and petroglyphs from the Altai Mountains take the lead for visual sources.⁹

The army's structure and proportions

The army was basically called *sü*.¹⁰ As Denis Sinor phrases it, there was not a specific word for a warrior in Turkic.¹¹ The Turkic language designated a 'warrior' with the term *er* 'human male, man' and hence 'fighting man, husband,' etc.¹² The Turkic inscriptions of the Orkhon and Yenisei make note of the *er at* 'warrior-name', i.e. a youth who has acquired maturity and completed a rite of initiation involving hunting or a military activity. Such customs were not unknown to later Turkic societies. The Mongol term, *čerig* 'warrior, soldier, army, military,' derives from the Turkic *čerig* 'troops drawn up in battle order' and then 'army, troops'. Other terms were used to express the concept of a soldier such as *alp* 'brave' (also 'tough, resistant, hard to overcome') *alpağut*, 'warrior' and *tonga* 'hero, outstanding warrior'.¹³ The army consisted of two types of warriors: horseman (*atlığ*) including light archers and heavy lancers, and heavy armoured infantry (*kedimliğ yadağ*).¹⁴ In the army system of the Türks, there was a group that we can call the 'guard force'. We have some evidence for the existence of such an elite force, perhaps a royal *comitatus*, like the *böri* of the Türks as the Chinese sources recorded: "They named their guardsmen as Fu-li

⁷ C. T. Harley Walker, "Jahiz of Basra Al-Fath Ibn Khaqan on the Exploits of the Türks and the Army of the Khalifate in General," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1915, 631-697.

⁸ H. N. Orkun, *Eski Türk Yazıtları*, Istanbul 1936; Tekin, *Orkhon Turkic*.

⁹ S. A. Yatsenko, "Early Turks: Male Costume in the Chinese Art", http://www.transoxiana.org/14/yatsenko_turk_costume_chinese_art.html (04.04.2017).; J. A. Lerner, "Aspects of Assimilation: The Funerary Practices and Furnishings of Central Asians in China," *Sino-Platonic Papers* 168 (2005).

¹⁰ Sir G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish*, (henceforth E.D.) Oxford 1972, 781.

¹¹ D. Sinor, "The Inner Asian Warriors," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 101 (1981), 135.

¹² Golden, *War and Warfare*, 90.

¹³ Clauson, E.D., 127, 128, 515; Golden, *War and Warfare*, 91.

¹⁴ Clauson, E.D., 55, 704.

(*böri*) which means 'wolf'. They come from the lineage of a she-wolf and they never want to forget their origin."¹⁵

The peoples of a nomadic empire were organised according to the decimal system, which was well known among them from the time of the Xiong-nu era. The *tümen* represented 10,000 men in the army.¹⁶ The word *tümen* appears in the Türk inscriptions nine times.¹⁷ It is quoted for the first time in the Türk inscriptions as the following: "They brought a man (from the enemy). His words (were) as follows: 'An army of *on tümen* (100.000) men has assembled on the Yarıš plain' he said (T II, W-1)."¹⁸ In addition, the word *tümen* is recorded in the Kül Tegin Inscription: "The Chinese governor Ong Tutuq came with an army of fifty thousand (*beš tümen*) and we fought (KT E-31)."¹⁹ The word on the Türk inscriptions refers to the quantity of the enemy's soldiers, mostly of the Chinese. Yet for their own army, they only use numeral amounts, which are less than a *tümen* (10,000). However, the existence of the word *tümen* in their language proves that, according to their sense, armies (either enemies or their own armies) are organised according to the decimal system.

When the troops were drawn up in battle order, the ratio was two-thirds horsemen to one-third infantry.²⁰ The Tonyukuk Inscription recorded this as follows: "Two-thirds of them were mounted, a (third) part was on foot".²¹ This is corroborated by the Chinese data: between 563-564 A.D., Northern Zhou attacked Northern Qi with the help of the Türks and the number of the Türk warriors were 100,000 footmen and 200,000 riders.²² Even though the given numbers are exaggerated here, the ratio (2/3) is similar.

¹⁵ Zhou-shu (50,1a-3a), Zhou-shu (50, 1a-3a), Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die Chinesischen Nachrichten*, 9.

¹⁶ The word *tümen* originally meant 'ten thousand', but was often used for an indefinitely large number (Clauson, *E.D.*, 507).

¹⁷ Tonyukuk ins. II, W-1; Kül Tegin ins. E-31, N-12; Bilge Qaghan ins. E-25, E-26, S-1, S-8, S-8, N-12.

¹⁸ Tonyukuk ins. II, W-1; Tekin, *Orkhon Turkic*, 288.

¹⁹ Kül Tegin ins. E-31; Tekin, *Orkhon Turkic*, 268.

²⁰ Omeljan Pritsak, "The Distinctive Features of the Pax Nomadica," In: *Popoli Delle Steppe: Unni, Avari, Ungari*, Spoleto 1988, 769; It is widely known that nomad armies consisted mostly of cavalry. Yet as it can be understood from the inscription, Kül Tegin sometimes fought against his enemies on foot. Thus, we can deduce that some parts of the Türk army consisted of foot soldiers. See: L. Keller, "A türk harcos és fegyverei az írott források tükrében," [The Türk warrior and his weapons in the mirror of the written sources] In: *Fegyveres Nomádok, Nomád Fegyverek*, ed. L. Balogh, L. Keller, Budapest 2004, 45-52.

²¹ *Eki üligi atlıg erti bir üligi yadağ erti* (Tonyukuk ins. I, W-4); Tekin, *Orkhon Turkic*, 283.

²² Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die Chinesischen Nachrichten*, 449.

The number of the warriors in the army

We cannot decide the exact number of soldiers in the Türk army because it varied according to the importance of the war or the expedition. As mentioned above, the Second Türk Qaghanate built their first army with 700 men, as is stated in the Kül Tegin Inscription.²³ These figures are obviously mythological, but it seems that an army of 700 men already represented a significant force to found an empire (*el*). Based on the Tonyukuk Inscription, the Türks fought against the Oguz with 2000 warriors: "The army (of the Oguz) reportedly consisted of three thousand men; we were two thousand. We fought. Heaven favored us. We put them to rout. They were poured into the river. Those who were put to rout were also killed on the way while they were trying to escape."²⁴ According to the Chinese sources, Ilteriş attacked the Nine Tribes with 5000 men and took the title of *qaghan* after his victory. Liu Mau-Tsai collected the figures for the size of the army given in the Chinese sources and summarised the data in tabular form.²⁵ In the Chinese source, the greatest Türk army consisted of 400,000 archers, who attacked the Chinese under the rule of Išbara Qaghan in 582.²⁶ This number might have been exaggerated by the Chinese in order to show their enemy was too powerful.

The chain of command

The Chinese sources explain the structure of the command of the Türks in the following way: "There were all together 5 commanders in Tu-jue army. The brothers always fought to have the control over the army."²⁷ The Qaghan was the commander in chief. Under his rule, there were four lower Qaghans who were his brothers or sons, and they were called *Šad* and *Yabgu*. There were right and left *Šads* and right and left *Yabgus*. Furthermore, they all had their own army, and each of them was controlling only their own territories. For example, during the realm of Mo-Chuo Qaghan, his son commanded 40,000 men and each of the two *Šads* commanded 20,000 men. In addition to *Šad* and *Yabgu*, there was another title, *A-po-ta-kan* (Apa-tarkan), which is supposed to be the minister of war.²⁸

²³ Kül Tegin ins. E-13; Tekin, *Orkhon Turkic*, 265.

²⁴ Tonyukuk ins. I, S-9; Tekin, *Orkhon Turkic*, 285.

²⁵ I. Zimonyi, *Muslim Sources on the Magyars in the Second Half of the 9th Century*, Leiden 2016, 110.

²⁶ Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die Chinesischen Nachrichten*, 433.

²⁷ Sui-shu (84, 1a-6b), Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die Chinesischen Nachrichten*, 46-47.

²⁸ Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die Chinesischen Nachrichten*, 429-430.

The battle order and tactics of the Türks

The Türks had their distinctive battle organisations and tactics. The above-mentioned Byzantine source *Strategikon* mentions the military organisation and warfare skills of the Türks and Avars as follows: "...only the [nations] of the Türks and Avars concern themselves with military organization, and this makes them stronger than other Scythian nations when it comes to pitched battles.²⁹ The [nation] of the Türks is very numerous and independent. They are not versatile skilled in most human endeavours, nor have they trained themselves for anything else except to conduct themselves bravely against their enemies."³⁰

Shock Combat: The most widely used tactic of the nomads was shock combat. The Chinese source mentions the Türks' tactic as follows: "The barbarians' power lies behind their attacking on us as fast as an arrow and backing away like a tearing muscle fibre. Even if we run after them it is hard to catch them."³¹

Night Raids: One of the most effective tactics used by the nomads was night raids. They could catch the enemy unaware while they were defenceless at night and rapidly make the enemy ineffective. According to the Türk inscriptions, the Türks defeated some of their enemies with night raids. It is written on the Kül Tegin Inscription that, after crossing the river Irtyš, they launched a night attack against the Türgiś people and defeated them.³² It is also stated on the Tonyukuk inscription how they defeated the Kirgiz people through a night attack.³³

Divided Units: The *Strategikon* has a lengthy section on this tactic. It begins by noting that "Unlike the Byzantines and Persians who form three units, the Türks and Avars are divided into different groupings, compactly joining the divisions together in order to appear as one battle line. They also hold a force outside of the battle line, which they use for ambushes and to help those who are in difficulty."³⁴

The same source mentions their cavalry battle formation as follows: "...just as the Avars and Türks line up today keeping themselves in that formation,

²⁹ 'Scythian' is a general term employed by Byzantine writers to designate the nomadic tribes north of the Black Sea and through the Central Asia Steppes.

³⁰ G. T. Dennis, *Maurice's Strategikon*, Philadelphia 1984, 23.

³¹ SS 56, (3bf), Biography of Yü-wen Pi, Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die Chinesischen Nachrichten*, 122.

³² '... and crossing over the Irtysh river. We fell upon the Türgiś people, while they were asleep.' (E-37); Tekin, *Orkhon Turkic*, 269.

³³ 'We arrived at the river Ani. We rode down along that river. In order to be fed we ordered (the soldiers) to dismount. We used to tie the horses to trees. We went on riding at gallop by day and by night. We fell upon the Kirgiz while they were asleep. We awakened them with the lances. Meanwhile their qaghan and army gathered together. We fought and defeated them. We killed their qaghan.' (N-3,4); Tekin, *Orkhon Turkic*, 286, 287.

³⁴ Golden, *War and Warfare*, 94.

and so they can be quickly called to support any unit that may give way in battle. For they do not draw themselves up in one battle line only, as do the Romans and Persians, staking the fate of tens of thousands of horsemen on a single throw. But they form two, sometimes even three lines, distributing the units in depth, especially when their troops are numerous, and they can easily undertake any sort of action..."³⁵

Feigned Retreat: This is also known as 'Alan drill'. In this tactic, the feigned retreat and counter-attack was practiced. The nomads shooting arrows in retreat were as effective as when attacking. The feigned retreat, associated with the nomads for a millennium, nonetheless continued to fool their enemies. In the 629/630 Türk-Khazar campaign in Transcaucasia, the Khazars met the Sasanid troops and "immediately took flight, but only to appear later on both flanks to challenge" the Persians. They then surrounded and destroyed the Persian army.³⁶ It can be estimated that the Eastern Türks also applied this tactic many times as it was a typical nomadic war strategy. Later on, the nomads defeated their enemies with this deceptive tactic for many centuries.

The Defence of the Military Camp: As mentioned above, the Türks had a special guard force, which was called *böri* (Fu-li). It was mainly responsible for protecting the Qaghan and his family. Besides this, there was a force that served as camp guards. They defended the camps against the rapid raids of the enemies. Related to this, it is written in the Tonyukuk Inscription that: "From the Qaghan a who? came back: 'Stay there!' he said, 'Place the vanguard and patrols properly, and do not let the enemy to make a surprise attack on you!' So was the message Böğü Qaghan sent me (N-10)."³⁷

The weapons of the Türks in the non-indigenous sources

The following passage can be quoted from Bei-shu in order to understand the combatant character of the Türks: "(The Türks) valued death in battle and were embarrassed to die by diseases."³⁸ The military might and fighting skills of the Türks were remarkable due to their considerable victories over numerous foes; they also constrained other peoples and tribes to adapt an addition to their decimal army system. Of course, these combatant features triggered the Türks to produce various weapons among themselves.

As for the basic and the most important weapons of the Türks, the Chinese sources give the first significant descriptions. The Chinese source Zhou-shu says: "Their weapons are bow and arrow, mace, armored vest, long cavalry spears and swords; they also carry daggers as a belt adornment."³⁹ The travel book of the Chinese pilgrim Xuan Zang (630 A.D.) adds new data about the

³⁵ Dennis, *Strategikon*, 116.

³⁶ Golden, *War and Warfare*, 95.

³⁷ Tonyukuk ins. I, (N-10); Tekin, *Orkhon Turkic*, 287-288.

³⁸ PS 99, 2b, Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die Chinesischen Nachrichten*, 501.

³⁹ Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die Chinesischen Nachrichten*, 9.

weapons of the Türks. Xuan Zang encountered the Qaghan of the Türks, Ye-hu, in a hunting expedition: "The horses of these barbarous people are very fine. The Qaghan himself was covered with a robe of green satin and his hair was loose, only it was bound round with silken band some ten feet in length, which was twisted round his head and fell down behind. He was surrounded by about 200 officers who were all clothed in brocade stuff, with their braided hair. On the right and left he was attended by independent troops all clothed in furs and fine-spun hair garments. They carried lances and bows and were mounted on camels and horses. The eye could not estimate their numbers."⁴⁰

The western source, the Strategikon, gives further descriptions about similar weapons, adding information about how nomads used them actively in the battle field: "(They) wear armor and have swords, bows and lances, most of them in battle make use of two sets of arms. They mount up the lances on their shoulders and hold the bows in their hands, using both as need requires. Not only do they wear armor, but the horses of their notable ones are also covered with iron and felt in the front areas. They train diligently, especially for mounted archery."⁴¹

The Arab ethnic stereotyping (Al-Jahiz) speaks highly of the Türks' weapons manufacturing as follows: "And so with saddles and the different stages of arrow-making and quivers and lances and all weapons, offensive or defensive. The Türk does these all himself from the beginning of the process to the end without needing any assistance or looking for help to advice of any friend."⁴²

Weapons in an indigenous source

After some descriptions from foreign sources, now we should take a look at one of the most important and unique indigenous sources of the Türks: the Kül Tegin Inscription. What kind of clues does this runic inscription give us?

While fighting in the war of Ming-sha Mountain (706 A.D.), the Chinese army shot their arrows at Kül Tegin. His armour and kaftan were hit by many arrows but he escaped without injury.⁴³

When Kül Tegin was 26 years old, he fought against the Kirgiz and used a bow and spear: "Kül Tegin mounted (the white stallion) Bayırqu and attacked; he hit one man with an arrow (*oqun urti*) and stabbed (*sančdi*) two men (E-34-36)"⁴⁴

⁴⁰ T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India 629-645 A.D.*, London 1903, 74; L. Ligeti, *Bilinmeyen İç Asya*, Ankara 1986, 83.

⁴¹ Golden, *War and Warfare*, 110.

⁴² Walker, *Jahiz*, 685, 686.

⁴³ "They hit (him) with more than one hundred arrows (*oq*) on his armor (*yariq*) and caftan (*yalma*); (but he did not let the enemy hit him) even once on his face or head." (E-34) Tekin, *Orkhon Turkic*, 268, 269.

⁴⁴ Kül Tegin ins. E-34-36; Tekin, *Orkhon Turkic*, 269.

Kül Tegin was 30 years old when the Qarluk revolt burst out and he used his lance once again: "He mounted (the white horse) Alp Šalči and attacked suddenly. He stabbed two men. (N-2)"⁴⁵

After the Tokuz Oguz had rebelled, the Türks went on a campaign against them and Kül Tegin used a lance and saber: "He stabbed six men with a lance. In hand-to-hand fighting he cut down a seventh man with a sword (*qiličladi*). (N-5-7)"⁴⁶

Essentially, he used a lance 22 times, a saber once and a bow once. It is also clearly understood that he was armored and he had also put on a helmet.

The weapons of the Türks

Bow The most important single piece of equipment was the compound bow.⁴⁷ The Türks had advanced compound bows that the Chinese described as follows: "The Tu-jue people have a bow which is compounded by glue which is produced from their legendary animal "Qi-lin" and the bow was reinforced by horns and they have arrows which has fletchings by vulture feather."⁴⁸ A bow and arrow were used by Kül Tegin several times to defeat his enemies according to his inscription.⁴⁹ The nomads were also famous for their prodigious skills in archery, the form of combat that was most closely associated with them. Al-Jahiz comments that "If 1000 Türk mounted archers drew their bows and shot at the same time 1000 of their foes would be fallen flat on their face."⁵⁰ Arrow-heads were made of iron or bone in a variety of shapes, including armour-piercing types.⁵¹ Poisoned arrows were also known.

Visual sources help us to view the form of the bows of the Türks. A bone plate from Sutu-Bulak, Kirgizstan, depicts a very clear battle scene. Türks with their long hair fight against their enemies using their composite reflex bows (Figure 1). Various petroglyphs also involve the daily lives of the Türks at that time. On a petroglyph from the Altai region, a Türk warrior with long braided hair draws his typical reflex bow on his knee (Figure 2). Several other petroglyphs have different scenes. For instance, while some of them shoot on horse-back backwards, others are foot soldiers and they draw their bows standing on their feet. Most of them are also described as having their quivers hanging on their belts (Figure 3).

The pictorial sources demonstrate detailed representations in the early medieval art of the Türks. The *sarcophagus of Yu Hong (died in 592 A.D.) was discovered in the northern city of Taiyuan*. This Sogdian official held the rank of *sabao*

⁴⁵ Kül Tegin ins. N-2; Tekin, *Orkhon Turkic*, 270.

⁴⁶ Kül Tegin ins. N-5-7; Tekin, *Orkhon Turkic*, 270, 271.

⁴⁷ Sinor, *The Inner Asian Warriors*, 140.

⁴⁸ Sü kao-seng-tschuan, Section 2, Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die Chinesischen Nachrichten*, 37.

⁴⁹ 'Kül Tegin mounted Bayırqu's (white stallion) and attacked; he hit one man with an arrow...' E35-36; Tekin, *Orkhon Turkic*, 269.

⁵⁰ Ramazan Şeşen, *El-Cahuz ve Türklerin Faziletleri*, İstanbul 2002, 83.

⁵¹ Golden, *War and Warfare*, 110.

and he was also an ambassador of the Sui Dynasty. There is a Türk shown on one of the tablets. On the picture, he turns backwards and draws his composite bow against a predator that attacks them⁵² (Figure 4).

A marble mortuary bed is located in Miho Museum, Japan. On the funerary couch, there are 11 panels and two gate panels. There are different stories and descriptions on all the panels. We can observe several nomadic people on the carvings with their typical hair style and costumes. One of the pictures shows a hunting scene of the Türks in the mountains with their composite bows. They also carry quivers that can be seen in the details (Figure 5).

Spear and lance Next in importance to the bow, spears and lances must be mentioned in the inventory of the traditional arsenal of Inner Asia.⁵³ Kül Tegin stabbed his enemies 22 times according to his memorial stone. It is the most widely-used weapon and it has more importance than any other weapon during his epic fights. Maybe the nomadic horsemen applied this weapon very often just after the bow.

They mostly preferred to use hollow and lighter spears on horseback. We can determine the features of the spears of the Türks, in contrast those of the Arabs: "Your horsemen use heavy lances, however, hollow spears are lighter and more effective... Long lances must be used by pedestrian warriors and short spears must be used by horsemen."⁵⁴ From this criticism, it can be easily understood that the Türks preferred light spears on horseback. In addition to the written sources, many horsemen's depictions on the Altai petroglyphs had spears (Figure 6).

Sword (sabre) and dagger Sometimes, an Inner Asian archer had to fight in close combat. His most widely used weapon, the sword, is attested in many shapes and sizes. It might be either straight and short like a dagger, as in the Scythian akinakes, or long, single or double edged. It might be pointed at the end, curved and sharpened on one side only, like a saber.⁵⁵ In the Kül Tegin Inscription, the use of the sword is mentioned only once: "In hand-to-hand fighting he cut down a seventh man with a sword (N-5)."⁵⁶

The Afrasiab wall paintings refer to the 7th-century Sogdian murals, discovered in 1965 in the residential part of ancient Samarqand. They form the most famous cycle, which was found in the so-called "Hall of the Ambassadors." In these wall paintings, we can see some weaponry details of the Türks, especially regarding their sabers (Figure 7).⁵⁷ Several Turkic sculptures from the Altai Mountains carry daggers on their belt. The sculptures from Toto and Kypchyl are good examples where one can observe curved daggers on the front side of their belts (Figure 8). Between the 5th-8th centuries, it was very

⁵² Yatsenko, *Early Turks*.

⁵³ Sinor, *The Inner Asian Warriors*, 141.

⁵⁴ Şeşen, *Türklerin Faziletleri*, 120.

⁵⁵ Sinor, *The Inner Asian Warriors*, 141.

⁵⁶ Kül Tegin ins. N-5; Tekin, *Orkhon Turkic*, 270.

⁵⁷ Yatsenko, *Early Turks*.

common to practice funerary arts, such as decorating mortuary beds with carvings and paintings. Most of these have multicultural presentment scenes including Central Asian nomads.⁵⁸ The granite mortuary bed of the Sogdian official An Qie and his wife shows a dagger carrying on his belt (Figure 9).

Armour Archaeological evidence indicates that at least some portion of the Türk army consisted of heavy cavalry alongside the light cavalry bowmen typical of the Eurasian steppe armies.⁵⁹ Based on information from Kül Tegin's Inscription, he was most probably guarded by his armour and his helmet. Although he was hit by many arrows, he did not obtain any injury during the war of Ming-sha Mountain (706 A.D.).⁶⁰

Armour (*yariq*) was widespread but metal armour appears to have been rather more limited to the elite. Some types of armour were made of both metallic and non-metallic substances.⁶¹ According to Al-Jahiz, the Türks were proud of using light armour made with felt: "And we make armor of felt, and have stirrups and breastplates."⁶²

Horse Armour Horses were also armoured, some of them lightly, others more heavily.⁶³ Only one passage in the Kül Tegin Inscription refers to horse armour. Visual sources, such as the Altai petroglyphs, prove that horses were mostly armoured with lamellar armour (Figure 6).

The invention of the hard-framed saddle and metal stirrups

The most significant technological inventions of the Türk Qaghanate era were the hard-framed saddle and the iron stirrups. Sitting on a strong saddle with a rigid frame and abutting feet in the stirrup, the riders received an extraordinary freedom of movement that could affect the combat tactics.⁶⁴

Saddle The first of the soft type of saddles appeared; these were simple rugs, then two cushions connected to each other. The hard type had a wooden structure. It developed somewhere on the border of the settled and nomadic worlds, in the contact area of the pastoral and agricultural zones in northern China.⁶⁵ Saddles were known before the Türks, from Xiong-nu times. There

⁵⁸ For detailed Chinese funerary traditions and mortuary beds please see: Judit A. Lerner, *The Funerary Practices*.

⁵⁹ Golden, *War and Warfare*, 100.

⁶⁰ Tekin, *Orkhon Turkic*, 269.

⁶¹ Golden, *War and Warfare*, 109.

⁶² Walker, *Jahiz*, 646.

⁶³ Golden, *War and Warfare*, 110.

⁶⁴ A. I. Solov'ev, "Drevnie Tiurki. Tiurkskii Kaganat. Sibirskoe vooruzhenie: ot kamennogo veka du srednevekov'ia," Novosibirsk 2003, <http://history.novosibdom.ru/node/31>, (04.04.2017).

⁶⁵ Ibid.

were several saddles unearthed. In the third and fifth kurgans at Pazyryk and at Shibe in the High Altai, rather primitive saddles were found.⁶⁶

Stirrups The iron stirrup gave stability to the horseman and immensely increased the warrior's ability to damage his enemy.⁶⁷ The first metal stirrups were found in China between the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. in excavations; they were depicted in reliefs, sculptures, paintings, and in textual descriptions.⁶⁸ On the other hand, several scholars claim that the Türks used the stirrups for the first time as war equipment. "As a horse armament it has been claimed that Türks invented the hard saddle with two stirrups so well suited for warfare".⁶⁹ Róna-Tas, studying the linguistic background of the Turkic denomination of stirrup, came to the conclusion that "the metal stirrup appeared not earlier than the Türk Empire in the 6th century". On the other hand, it is reasonable to suppose that rope or leather stirrups preceded the metal ones by a few hundred years.⁷⁰ The beginning of the use of non-metallic stirrups is difficult to determine, partly because many of them were made from organic materials such as wood and leather, which tend to disintegrate when buried in the ground.⁷¹ The above-mentioned items are all evidenced through archaeologically. Among the findings of Kudırge, only one hard framed pommel with animal scenes on its surface was found (Figure 10).⁷² A number of wooden and terracotta figures were excavated near Astana. The excavations correspond to the Eastern Jin and Sui-Tang Dynasties in China (4th-8th centuries A.D.). They are exhibited in Xinjiang Museum. Many figures of horsemen using stirrups were excavated in the Late Tang burials within the same cemetery near Astana (Figure 11).⁷³

In the Altai Republic, at the border between Russia, Kazakhstan and Mongolia, stirrups with elongated suspension loops were found. Burial assem-

⁶⁶ T. Hayashi, "Development of Saddle and Stirrup" In: *The Silk Road and Sports. Record No. 3 on the Silk Roads – Nara International Symposium*. Nara 1995, 65-76; J. O. Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns (Studies in Their History and Culture)*, London 1973, 208.

⁶⁷ L. White, Jr., *Medieval Technology and Social Change*, Los Angeles 1962, 2.

⁶⁸ J. Needham, "Science and Civilisation in China", *Chemistry and Chemical Technology*, Vol. 5, Part 7, *Military Technology the Gunpowder Epic* (1), Cambridge 1986, 16.

⁶⁹ Golden, *War and Warfare*, 110; D. G. Savinov, "K probleme proiskhozhdeniia metallicheskih stremlian v Central'noi Azii i Iuzhnoi Sibiri," In: *Akual'nye problemy sibirskoi arkheologii*. Barnaul 1996, 16-20.

⁷⁰ A. Róna-Tas, "Did the Proto Altaic People Know the Stirrup?", In: *Language and History Contributions to Comparative Altaistics (Studia Uralo-Altaica)*, Vol. 25, Szeged 1986, 52.

⁷¹ Sinor, *The Inner Asian Warriors*, 137.

⁷² Alibek K. U. "Malayev, She-Wolf-Mountain" *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, II. (2010), 50.

⁷³ S. A. Komissarov, A. I. Solov'ev, "Vsadniki Astany," *Vestnik Novosibirskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Seriya: Istorii, Filologiya*. 2015. T. 14, vyp. 10: Vostokovedeniye, 62-75.

blages from that region have been attributed to the Türk Qaghanate.⁷⁴ Several archaeological excavations from the Kochkor Valley, Kirgizstan, also revealed the remains of several stirrups. In one of the graves, a Turkic burial was found with a horse and stirrups at the same archaeological site (Figures 12 and 13). Finally, as a pictorial source, the Altai petroglyphs show several horsemen using stirrups while hunting (Figure 14).

Conclusion

Comparing the data from written, visual, and archaeological sources, it can be concluded that the Türks might have improved the effectiveness of their weapons and they made several innovations that had a basic effect on the building of their empire.

Even though it is a matter of debate regarding whether the iron stirrup and saddle were nomadic or Chinese inventions, or if they could be the result of close cooperation between the Chinese and the nomads, these inventions made possible the use of heavy armoured cavalry among the nomad warriors. The Türk army, which basically consisted of light and partly heavy cavalry, used its distinctive weapons such as lances and sabers in addition to their bows and arrows. This provided them with an excellent possibility to gain military superiority in establishing the Türk Qaghanate. The spread of stirrups to the East (Korea and Japan) and to the West Islamic world, Byzantine, and Europe is connected with the formation and the era of the Türk Qaghanate.

⁷⁴ F. Curta, "The Earliest Avar-Age Stirrups or the "Stirrup Controversy" Revisited," In: *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages. Avars, Bulgars, Khazars, and Cumans*, Boston 2008, 309.

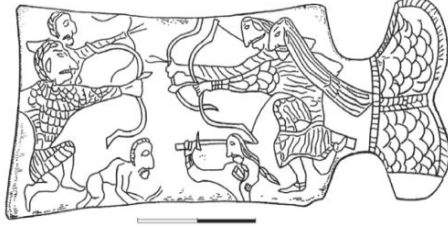


Figure 1. Battle scene on a bone plate from Sutu-Bulak, Kirgizstan (Atlas, 507).

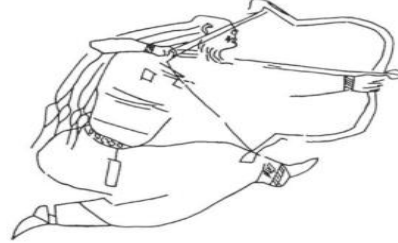


Figure 2. A warrior shooting a composite bow. Petroglyph of Valley Chaganki river, Altai (Atlas, 617).



Figure 3. Petroglyphs from Sulek, Kudırge, Kem (Yaşar Çoruhlu, Erken Devir Türk Sanatı, İstanbul 2007, 183)



Figure 4. Sarcophagus of Yu Hong: a hunter with composite reflex bow (Yatsenko).



Figure 5. Miho Museum: in the lower tier, we see mounted Türks hunting in the mountains (<http://www.miho.or.jp/booth/html/artcon/00000432e.htm>)



Figure 6. Türk riders with their lances on different petroglyphs from Sulek, Kem, Char-chad (Çoruhlu, 178, 183).

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Figure 7: Türks with their long sabers from Afrasiyab wall paintings (Yatsenko).

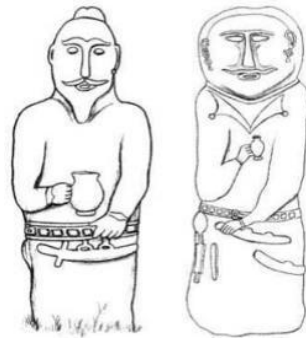


Figure 8: Türk sculptures with daggers, from Toto and Kypchyl of the Altai Mountains (A.I. Solov'ev).



Figure 9. An Qie, there is a dagger suspended to his black belt (on the right) (Yatsenko).



Figure 10. Altai Mountains, Kudirge pommel of hard framed saddle, VI-VII. centuries (A.I. Solov'ev).



Figure 11. Warriors of Astana: the riders are using saddle and stirrups (S. A. Komissarov, A. I. Solov'ev, 71).

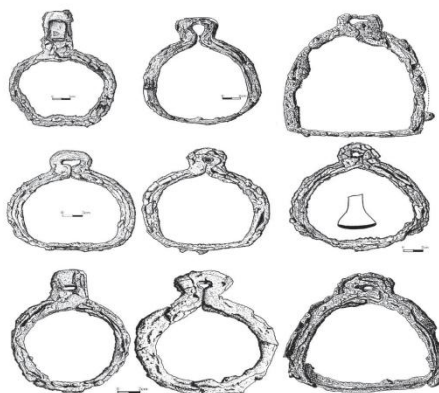


Figure 12. The stirrups of the Turkic monuments from Kochkor Valley, Kirgizstan (Atlas, 536).

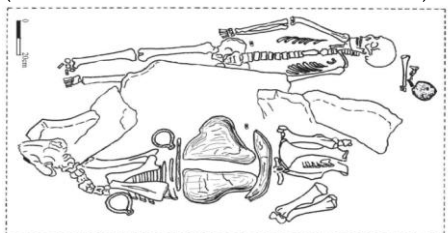


Figure 13. Türk grave with a horse and stirrups from Kochkor Valley, Kirgizstan (Atlas, 533).

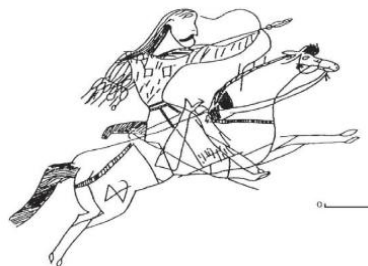


Figure 14. A bowman on horseback with stirrups. Petroglyphs of Valley Chaganki River, Altai (Atlas, 618).

The Turks on Medieval Arab Maps (9th–10th centuries)

TATIANA M. KALININA¹



The Arab medieval maps depict various kinds of Turks. Muḥammad al-Khwārizmī mentioned the Turks and Toguzguz as the population of two Scythias of Ptolemy – the inner and outer sides of the mountain Imaus. However, al-Khwārizmī did not associate the location of Scythia (As-kutiya) with this mountain. The circular world maps of al-Balkhī, al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawqal show the various Turk peoples around Caspian and Aral Seas.

Arab maps of the 9th–10th centuries that have survived to the present day tend to be a very informative source in demonstrating the locations of the Turkic peoples in the Central Eurasia.

Claudius Ptolemy (2nd century) was an unchallenged authority for Arab scientists. He compiled a map of the world based on geographic coordinates. In his “Guide to Geography”, he demonstrated the need for practicing the cartographic approach in order to describe the Earth and to develop the system of coordinates.²

In the first third of the 9th century, observatories were built in the Arab Caliphate, where astronomical observations were undertaken and the data obtained from ancient scientists were verified. In Baghdad’s *Bayt al-Hiqma*, scientists from different countries of the world translated scientific works from different languages into Arabic and made astronomical, mathematical and geographic calculations.³ Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Khwārizmī (c. 783–c. 850)

¹ Moscow, Russia

² O. Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*. Berlin–Heidelberg–New York 1975, 333–336 et passim; E. Honigmann, *Die sieben Klimata und die πόλεις ἐπισημοί*. Heidelberg 1929, 110–117 et passim, 156 et passim; D. A. Shcheglov, “Sistema semi klimatov Ptolemeia i geographija Eratosfena,” In: *Vestnik drevnei istorii*. 2005. № 3, 243–265.

³ G. R. Tibbets, “The Beginnings of a Cartographical Tradition,” In: *The History of Cartography*. Vol. II. Part. 1. *Cartography in the traditional Islamic and South Asian societies*. Ed. J. B. Harley, D. Woodward, Chicago–London 1993, 104–105.

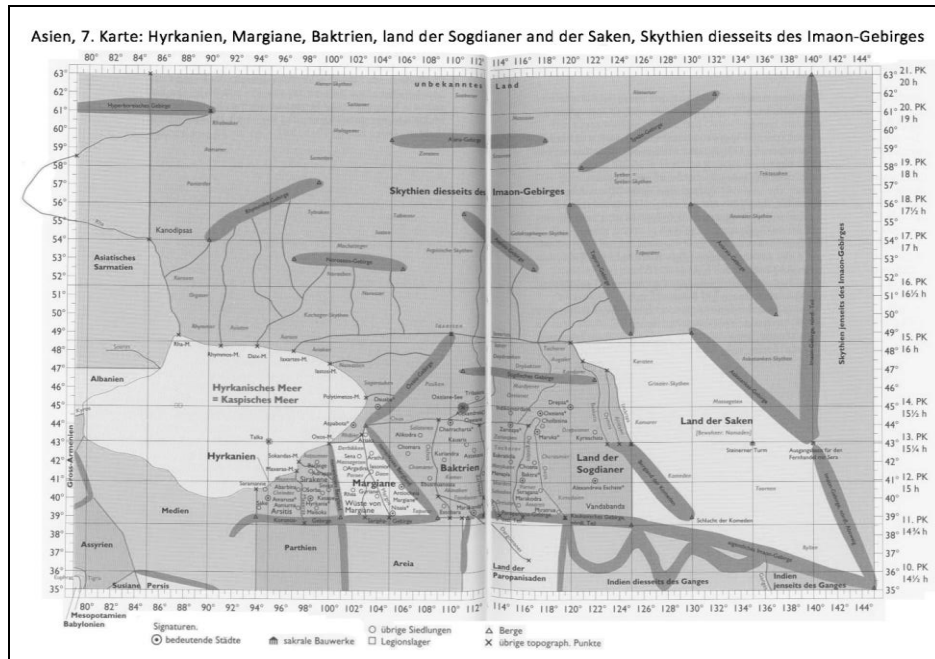
worked at the court of the caliph al-Ma'mūn (813–833)⁴ where scientists compiled the “Verified al-Ma'mūn tables” with the coordinates of the contemporary inhabited areas. Al-Khwārizmī participated in this work as well. Based on Ptolemy’s “Guide to Geography”, he created his book “The Image of the Earth”, where he defined the location of toponyms, hydronyms etc. inside seven “climates” from the West to the East, calculating the coordinates in accordance with the existing data on the day length and the solstice.

Al-Khwārizmī mainly used the names taken from the book of Ptolemy, but often in a distorted or Arabized form. He named one chapter of “The Image of the Earth” “Places describing the borders of lands”; this chapter contained the coordinates of the described lands’ centers. The names of the lands were based on Ptolemy’s data, but they were changed in accordance with new materials that al-Khwārizmī used. Among others, we can find the names having analogues in Ptolemy’s materials: Germany (*Irmaniya*), Sarmatia, Scythia (*Isquthiya*). There were two Scythias in his work: “The region of *Isquthija* is the land of *al-Turks*, and the region of *Isquthija* is the land of *al-Tughuzghuz*.” Coordinates of the center of both lands are given. Both names correspond to Ptolemy’s two lands: Σκυθία ἡ ἐντὸς Ἰμαίου ὄρους (Ptol. VI, 14, 9), i.e. Scythia inside Imaus Mountain, and Σκυθία ἡ ἐκτὸς Ἰμαίου ὄρους (Ptol. VI, 15, 1), i.e. Scythia outside Imaus Mountain. According to Ptolemy, Imaus is a mountain chain meridionally stretching from the North to the South.

The original or contemporary Ptolemy’s maps have not survived to the present day. However, there are later variants of these maps; they depict particular parts of the oecumene, including the Imaus Mountain and the two Scythias.

⁴ I. Ju. Kratchkovskii “Arabskaia geographicheskaya literatura,” In: *Izbrannye sochineniya*. Moskva-Leningrad 1954, 94–97; T. M. Kalinina, *Svedeniia rannykh uch’enykh Arabskogo khalifata. Teksty, perevod, kommentarii*. (Drevneishie istochniki po istorii narodov SSSR) Moskva 1988, 12–14.

THE TURKS ON MEDIEVAL ARAB MAPS...

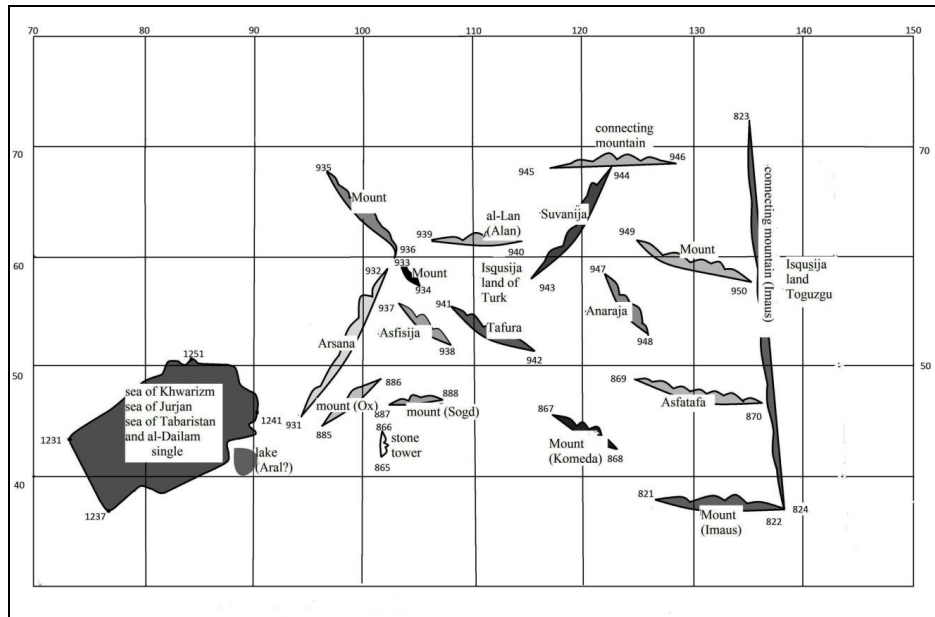


Map 1⁵

The figure below shows my reconstruction of the part of Middle Asia in accordance with the coordinates from al-Khwārizmī's book. Here we can see a range of mountains: one of them corresponds with Ptolemy's Imaus Mountain in terms of its coordinates and location. Al-Khwārizmī indicates the "direction of the mountain top" (the North, the West) for all mountains. In the vicinity of these mountains, the "center of al-Turks" and the "center of at-Tughuzghuz land" are indicated by circles.⁶

⁵ *Ptolemaios: Handbuch der Geographie*. Griechisch-Deutsch. Einleitung, Text und Übersetzung, Index. Teil 1-2. ed. A. Stückelberger und G. Graßhoff, Basel 2006, Teil 2. 880-882. (Asien, 7. Karte)

⁶ *Das Kitab Surat al-ard des Abu Ġafar Muhammad Ibn Musa al-Huwarizmi*. Ed. H. v. Mžik, Leipzig 1926, 105; Kalinina, *Svedeniia*, 48.



Map 27

There is a significant difference between the coordinates of the location of Scythia in Ptolemy's and al-Khwārizmī's works. In the existing manuscript of al-Khwārizmī's book, the Imaus Mountain does not have a name. There are two unnamed mountains (821-822) and (823-824) conjoining at an angle. The first mountain corresponds to one part of Ptolemy's Imaus Mountain, along which the trade route passed according to him.⁸ The mountain (823-824) conjoins with the first mountain (821-822) and spreads northwards, corresponding to the main part of Ptolemy's Imaus Mountain and it "spreads to the North along the meridian line" (Ptol. VI, 14, 1 and 8). Thus, these mountains can in fact correspond to Ptolemy's Imaus. Still, H. Daunicht had a different view on al-Khwārizmī's data regarding the mountain (823-824) as there were no diacritical marks in his text. I depict this mountain in accordance with Ptolemy's data to a greater extent.⁹ There is a supposition that these data should be compared to the following mountains: a part of the Himalayas, the middle part of Altyn Tagh, the western part of Trans-Himalayas, the western part of Tibet, the southern Pamir, the Western Himalayas, Hindu Kush.¹⁰

⁷ MAP. 2. My reconstruction of the mountains of Asian part of the World by the al-Khwārizmī's coordinates (without rivers).

⁸ H. v. Mžik, *Das Kitab*, 56–57; Kalinina, *Svedeniia*, 22, 41.

⁹ H. Daunicht, *Der Osten nach der Erdkarte al-Huwarismi's: Beiträge zur Historischen Geographie und Geschichte Asiens*. Bonn 1968, 230–231; Kalinina, *Svedeniia*, 41.

¹⁰ Daunicht, *Der Osten*, 262–263; A. Ahmedov, "Suratu-l-Arz Kitobi. Shaharlar tog'lar, dengizlar, orollar wa darjolardan [iborat] [Geographia]," In: Muhammad ibn

The territory of "Scythia" in al-Khwārizmī's work is filled with the ethnonyms that are relevant to his time: in the 9th century, the territory of the Turks shared borders with the lands of the Arab Caliphate up to Isfijab in the East. The trade route to China passed through their territories.¹¹

The 10th century was characterised by the appearance of geographers belonging to the so-called "classical school". Their works contained the maps which are called the "Atlas of Islam". Al-Balkhī, al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Muqaddasī belonged to this school.¹² The maps were compiled in accordance with the geometrical principle – circles and straight lines. The North was indicated at the bottom of maps and the South was indicated at the top.

Al-Balkhī wrote the treatise "the Image of the seven climates" in approximately 920.¹³ It was previously believed that the map and the work of al-Balkhī had not survived to the present day. However, an Orientalist scholar from Kazakhstan, R. Kumekova, recently discovered a manuscript in the Institute of Arab Manuscripts of the League of Arab States in Cairo, which is a copy of the geographical work "The notice of distances and the description of climates" compiled by Abū Zayd Aḥmad ibn Sahl al-Balkhī. A brief acquaintance with this manuscript allowed R. Kumekova to deduce that it was not a revision of al-Iṣṭakhri's work as had been supposed before, but it was the original work of al-Balkhī, because the texts of the works by al-Balkhī and al-Iṣṭakhri were not identical. Her comparison of the geographical maps in these works revealed some differences as well. The map of al-Balkhī includes much more details regarding ethnonyms than that of al-Iṣṭakhri. R. Kumekova revealed a number of additions, amendments and changes that were made by al-Iṣṭakhri when he used al-Balkhī's work. The comparison was made on the basis of the full lists of the work: Cairo, 1961. Thus, as it was already presupposed by researchers, the work of al-Balkhī was almost completely included in the work of al-Iṣṭakhri.

R. Kumekova wrote the following about al-Balkhī's Manuscript, that the contemporary countries of the Turkic peoples were located in different territories. The borders of the lands of the Oghuz tribes were between the territories of the Kimaks, Karluks, Bulghars and the Islamic areas – from Jurjan to Farab and Isfijab. Perhaps the Chigils were mentioned in the original text of al-Balkhī

Muso al-Horazmī, *Tanlangan Asarlar. Matematika, astronomiia, geografiia*, Toshkent 1983, 224–466, 406, 586.

¹¹ V. V. Bartol'd, "Dvenadcat' lekcii po istorii tureckih narodov Srednei Azii," In: *Sochineniia*. Moskva 1968, 583–584; S. G. Klyashtornyi, *Gosudarstva i narody Evraziiskih stepei. Drevnost' i Srednevekovie*. Sankt-Peterburg 2004, 99–101.

¹² Kratchkovskii, *Arabskaia*, 194–218; J. H. Kramers "Djughhrāfiya," *Enzyklopaedie des Islam*. Bd. III. Leiden–Leipzig 1936, 66; G. R. Tibbets, "The Balkhī School of Geographers", In: *History of Cartography*. Vol. II. Book I: *Cartography in the traditional Islamic and South Asian societies*. ed. J. B. Harley, D. Woodward, Chicago–London 1992, 108–129.

¹³ Kratchkovskii, *Arabskaia*, 195–196; W. M. Watt, "Abū Zayd al-Balkhī," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Vol. I. Fasc. 4., ed. Ehsan Yarshater, London 1983, 399–400; Tibbets, *The Balkhī School*, 110.

as the Chigils are known from other sources (Ibn al-Faqih, “Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam” etc.).

In my opinion, the data of al-Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawqal some times provide similar information too.¹⁴ Unfortunately, we have neither the text nor the map of al-Balkhī from Cairo in hand, as R. Kumekova wrote. However, similar discoveries were made earlier. There are now maps attributed to al-Balkhī; one of them can be seen below.



Map 3.¹⁵

¹⁴ R. B. Kumekova, “Karta mira Abu Zaida al-Balhi (X v.) kak istochnik po istorii Kazakhstana,” In: *Vestnik KazNU, seriia istoricheskaiia* №3 (54), Almaty 2009, 63–65; Idem, “Svedeniia klassicheskikh arabskikh geografov o tiurkskikh plemenakh Kazakhstana,” In: *Sbornik materialov mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferencii “Kipchaki Evrazii: istoriia, jazyk, i pis’mennyye pamjatniki”, posviashzionnyi 1100-letiu Kimekskogo gosudarstva d ramkah Dnej tiurkskoi pis’mennosti i kul’tury*. Astana 2013, 324–330.

¹⁵ MAP 3. al-Balkhī (undated): http://cartographic-images.net/Cartographic_Images/214.2_Balkhi.html

For clarification, it is necessary to compare this map to those of al-Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawqal.¹⁶

The geographer and traveller Abū Ishāq al-Fārisī al-Iṣṭakhri finished the "Book of Routes and States" in 951. This book was a revised and amended geographical work of al-Balkhī. Al-Iṣṭakhri mentioned him at the beginning of the book as part of the general description of the peoples of the Earth. There is a description of Khorasan and other areas of Middle Asia, and the Turkic tribes such as the Karluks, the Oghuz, the Kimaks, the Khirikhiz, the Toghuzghuz, the Bulghars, the Pechenegs and the Khazars in the concluding sections of the book. Al-Iṣṭakhri also provided information regarding cities, roads and trade stations.¹⁷

The migration of the Pechenegs was original information in the text of al-Iṣṭakhri: "A group of the Turkic peoples called the Pechenegs expelled from their own land and settled between the Khazars and Rūm. The country where they are currently located is not their motherland; they came here and occupied the land"¹⁸. However, this information is not reflected on the maps of al-Iṣṭakhri as the Petchenegs (*Bajanāk*) marked on the map 1198 close to Māwarānnahr (see above).

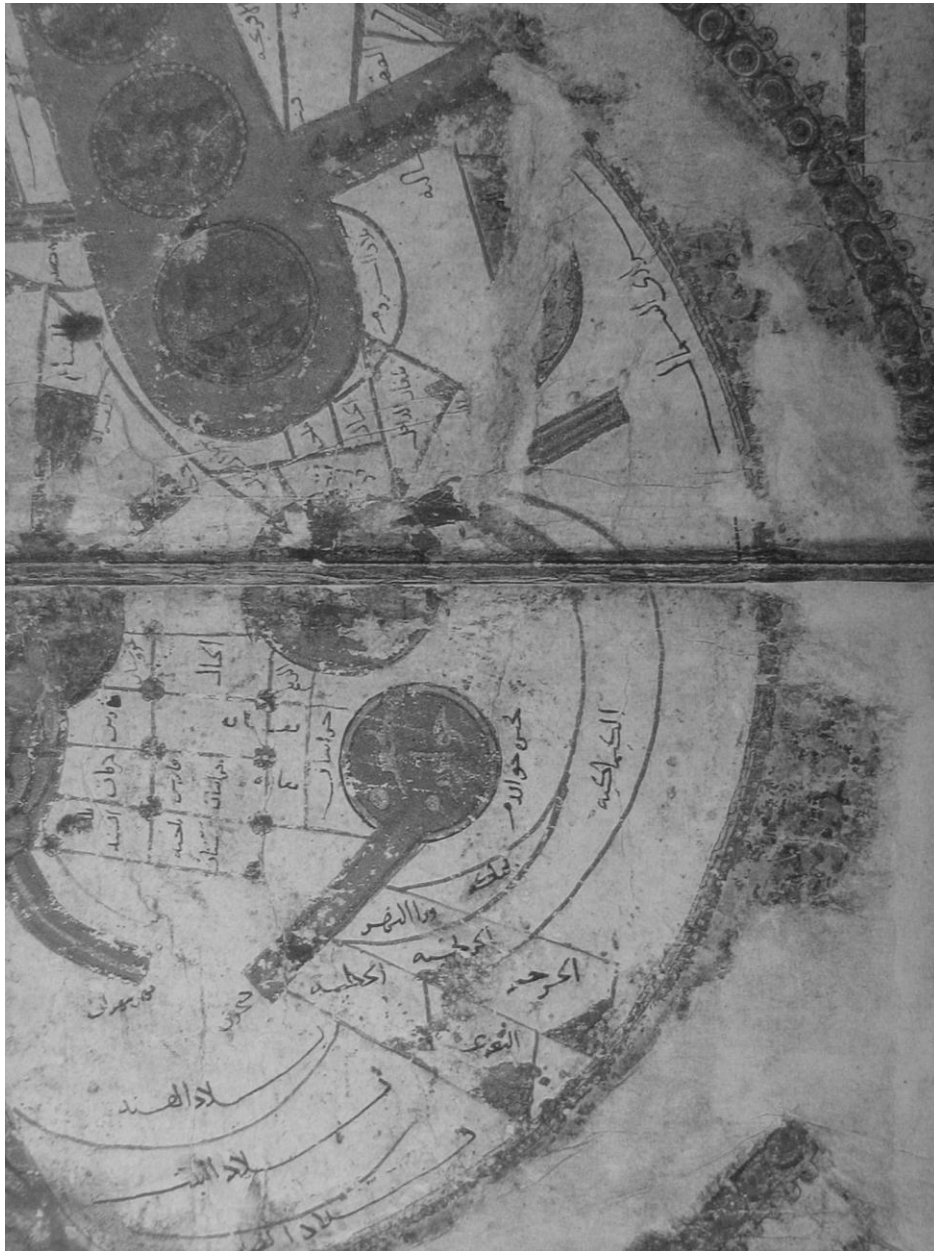
The work of al-Iṣṭakhri existed in different editions. The publisher of al-Iṣṭakhri's work, M. J. de Goeje, used a lot of different Persian translations and showed that the Persian versions were more complete.¹⁹ If we compare al-Iṣṭakhri's texts to his round maps that exist in both Arab and Persian versions, we can see that the maps provide us with a very sketchy reflection of the text itself. I present two types of al-Iṣṭakhri's maps copied in the 12th and the 15th centuries, although there are a large number of such copies.

¹⁶ J. H. Kramers, "La question Balkhi-Istakhri et l'atlas de l'Islam," *Archiv Orientalni*. IX (1931), 9-30.

¹⁷ Kratchkovskii, *Arabskaia*, 196-198; Kramers, *Ibidem*; A. Miquel, "Al-Iṣṭakhri", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition Vol. IV. Leiden 1997, 222-223; Tibbets, *The Balkhi*, 108-111; *Viae regnorum. Descriptio ditionis moslemicae auctore Abu Ishak al-Farisi al-Istakhri*. ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1870. 5-10, 227-286.

¹⁸ de Goeje, *Viae Regnorum*, 10.

¹⁹ M. J. de Goeje, "Die Istakhri-Balkhi Frage," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 25 (1871), 42-58.



Map 4²⁰

²⁰ MAP 4. Dat. 589/1193. Leiden manuscript. In: *The History of Cartography*. P. 604. Plate 7.

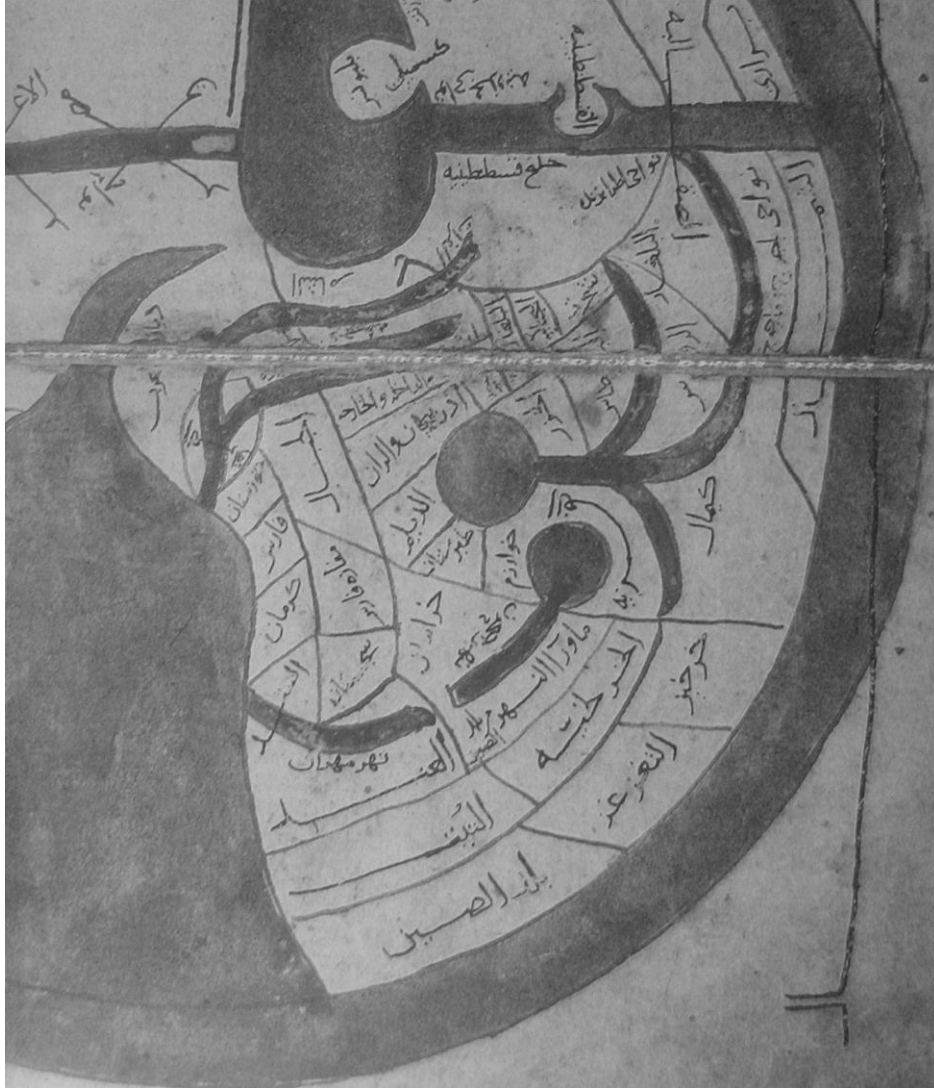


Map 5²¹

Abū'l-Qāsim Ibn Ḥawqal al-Niṣībī, al-Iṣṭakhrī's contemporary, became the successor to his work. He got acquainted with al-Iṣṭakhrī and they agreed that

²¹ MAP 5. Dat. 1460 (http://cartographic-images.net/Cartographic_Images/211_al-Istakhri.html)

Ibn Ḥawqal would correct the inaccuracies in his maps and descriptions. His work was completed in 977 (or 988). Ibn Ḥawqal later expanded al-Iṣṭakhri's work using original materials.²² He added the information about Māwarānnahr and the neighbouring Turkic tribes.



Map 6²³

²² Krachkovskii, *Arabskaia*, 196–198; A. Miquel, "Ibn Hawkal," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition Vol. III. Leiden 1986, 786–788; *Opus geographicum auctore Ibn Haukal...* (Abu-l-Kasim ibn Haukal al-Nasibi)... «*Liber imaginis terrae*». Ed. collatio textu primae editionis aliisque fontibus adhibitis J. H. Kramers. Lugduni Batavorum, 1939. Vol. II.

²³ MAP 6. Dat. 1086. Tibbets, *Cartography*, P. 123. Fig. 5.16.

According to Ibn Ḥawqal's world map, Khwārizm and the region of the Oghuz were located around the Aral Sea (*baḥr al-Khwārizm*), and Māwarānnahr is along the river Jayḥūn. Ibn Ḥawqal repeated al-Iṣṭakhri's story regarding the migration of the Pechenegs, adding that they became allies of the Rūs people.²⁴ Researchers have long noted this as very important information.

The Karluks, the Khirhhiz, the Tughuzghuz in Ibn Ḥawqal's map are shown further to the North (the North is on the bottom of the map), whilst the Kimaks are shown in the area between the two branches of the river Atil.

Al-Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawqal showed and described the river Atil in different ways on the maps. On the maps of al-Iṣṭakhri, Atil has two branches and the Khazar Sea (Caspian Sea) is not connected to any water pool.²⁵ On the world map of Ibn Ḥawqal, the river Atil has three branches. The main branch is shown flowing into the Strait of Constantinople (*khalij al-Qustantiniya*). The Strait of Constantinople is a water stream emerging from the Sea ar-Rūm (the chain of seas from Gibraltar to Syria). After passing by Syria (*al-Shām*), the flow sharply turns downwards and becomes the Strait of Constantinople.²⁶ Al-Iṣṭakhri also shows the Strait of Constantinople, but does not tie it to the Khazar Sea.²⁷

Ibn Ḥawqal placed the Rūs, the Bulghars, the Slavs (*al-Ṣaqāliba*), as well as the Bashjirt, the Pechenegs, the Inner-Bulgars (*al-Dākhila*) near the Strait of Constantinople, close to the main channel of the river Atil, and one of the branches this river on his map. The third offshoot of Atil is the same as that of al-Iṣṭakhri, with a population of Kimaks.

As far as we can see, Ibn Ḥawqal's information about Turkic tribes and the geography of Middle Asia does not coincide completely with the information provided by al-Iṣṭakhri.

If we now return to considering the map of al-Balkhī (MAP 3, see above), we will see the opulent similarity between Ibn Ḥawqal's and al-Balkhī's maps, though the map by al-Balkhī includes fewer details. It means that al-Balkhī's maps and those of Ibn Ḥawqal require further study and comparison, as well as the book and maps of al-Iṣṭakhri.

²⁴ Kramers, *Opus geographicum*, 15.

²⁵ de Goeje, *Viae regnorum*, 222.

²⁶ Kramers, *Opus geographicum*, 388, 389, 393.

²⁷ de Goeje, *Viae regnorum*, 68–71.

On the Earliest Mention of the Ethnonym 'Oghuz' in Western Turkestan

OSMAN KARATAY* - UMUT ÜREN**



The appearance and earliest use of the ethnonym Oghuz occurs in the K k T rk realm; a group of tribes with that name was influential during the interregnum (630-682) and second periods of the T rk Empire (682-744). Later associated with the Uyghurs, they were merely neighbours of the T rk tribe in the Selenga basin. A great union of the Oghuz then appeared in Western Turkestan in the 9th century. Their ties with the synonymous eastern tribes are not clear, and no certain account of an east-west migration exists. On the other hand, sources describing the ethnic situation of Western Turkestan during the 8th and 9th centuries are very scanty. Early Islamic records speak of a great formation of the Oghuz to the east of Sir Darya and Aral. Given the lack of necessary data, their ethnogenesis is open to many speculations. It is customary to suppose that the T r ges  union, derived from the On Ok union of the Western T rk Kaghanate turned to be the core of the Oghuz. However, when and why the name Oghuz replaced T r ges  and when and why the latter disappeared needs explanation. Based on two unusual attestations of the name in the T rk inscriptions, this paper suggests that the name Oghuz was crucial among the western tribes of the T rks synchronically with, or even before, the name T r ges .

Usage of the ethnonym Oghuz in the K k T rk inscriptions seems to have been reserved for the Oghuz in Mongolia. Another Oghuz formation appeared in the west after several generations, on the lower Sir Darya basin. The former union of tribes on the Selenga basin called the Tokuz (Nine) Oghuz was a reservoir of troubles for the Second T rk Kaghanate (682-744). Indeed, the two Oghuz are not contemporary to each other and the Western Oghuz appeared after the demise of the (Second) T rk Empire. The T rk and Uyghur inscriptions, Chinese sources or any other record do not imply anything concrete suggesting this union, often punished for their rebellions, replaced their habitation

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with another (westward) land in those days. The only statement, so vague as to be open to all kinds of comments, is given by Ibn al-Athir: "A certain historian of Khurasan told some of their history with greater clarity. According to his account these Oghuz were a people of the remotest Turks who migrated from the furthest regions into Transoxiana during the reign of al-Mahdī. They converted to Islam and al-Muqanna, the 'miracle-worker' and mountebank, called on them for help for the success of his mission."¹ This part about the late 8th century was inserted into the text, being not much relevantly to the pages telling about the story of the events around the year 1153.

The problem with the account is that no such migration during the reign of the Abbasid caliph al-Mahdī (775-785) is known from other sources; the movement of the Sir Darya Oghuz towards Transoxiana was under the separatist Saljuk Beg, after more than two centuries, and this was not determinant and permanent. As for the coincidence of the Islamisation with this movement, it is entirely out of question. The first massive Islamisation of the Oghuz was in the horde of the same Saljuk Beg. Therefore, the account of Ibn al-Athir is very problematic, especially for the basic chronology. Hence, how can we check reliability of the news regarding 'remotest Turks' and 'furthest regions'? If it really happened, those regions might be equally the Selenga basin, the South Siberian belt and even the Semirechie.² Ibn al-Athir mentions only one migration, and that is the southwards march of the Oghuz, so a unique movement from the east and north of the Lake Aral should be understood. In that case, the 'remotest point' would be the known Oghuz habitation of the Aral-Sir Darya region.

Sümer believes that the Eastern/Tokuz Oghuz and those on the Sir Darya are separate peoples,³ and presents the following proofs: starting with the earliest ones (Ibn Khordadbeh, Khwarezmī), Islamic geographers record them as separate peoples. The Sir Darya Oghuz had dual tribal organisation, which was related to the separation of the On Ok federation into two. This is not visible in the east. The regent *yabghu*, the highest ruler among the Sir Darya Oghuz, was called *köl erkin*; it was the same as in the Nu-shih-pi, the west wing of the On Ok union, Oghuz Bilge Tamgachi attended to the funeral of Kül Tegin as representative of the Western Kök Türk region. This name includes the tribal name. Names of the Tongra and Kuni tribes of the Tokuz Oghuz are not attested in

¹ *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīh*, Part 2, ed. D. S. Richards, Farnham-Burlington 2007, 57.

² Sümer pays attention to the fact that the Karluks destroyed the Türgesh in 766 and believes that the latter might have moved towards the Lower Sir Darya from the Chu and Talas valleys, and thus the account might be true. See: F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler)*. İstanbul 1999⁵, 65.

³ Golden agrees that "bearing in mind, then, that Oghuz is originally a *terminus technicus politicus*, its appearance at various times and places in the Turkic world does not necessarily imply that the peoples bearing this designation belong to or are descendants of one and the same ethnos", see: P. B. Golden, "The Migrations of the Oghuz," *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 4 (1972), 45-84, 47, 54.

the west. Mahmud of Kashgar separates the language of (western) Oghuz from the so-called 'Khaqanī' language. Since the latter is the closest to the Kōk Türk language, the (western) Oghuz were different from the Eastern Turks.⁴

If we can find any early presence of the Oghuz in the west,⁵ while the Selenga Oghuz were still in their home (they are mentioned there even under the Uyghur kaghan Böğü (759–779), and they took the name of the ruling Uyghur tribe in the succeeding generations), then there would be no reason to suppose such a remote migration.⁶ We would at least suppose that the allegedly migrated group was of such a tiny one that they did not even enter into records. If so, then, the task of explaining the very great Western Oghuz mass will be a challenge.

As Klyashtorny proposes, it seems that the only support for Ibn al-Athir for the migration from the remote east can be found in the presence of the Igder tribe that was subdued by the Uyghur kaghan Moyan Čur (c.749).⁷ It is one of

⁴ Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, 45–46. Chinese annals prove this linguistically known fact. According to both the early and late *T'ang Shu*, "(of the tribes constituting the Western Turks) traditions and lifestyles are usually the same as those of the T'u-chüeh (the Eastern, proper Turks), but their language is a little bit different." See É. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Pétersbourg 1903, 21, 47; Liu Mau-tsai, *Çin Kaynaklarına Göre Doğu Türkleri*, trans. E. Kayaoğlu – D. Banoğlu, İstanbul 2006, 477–478. Although Korkmaz expresses the Kōk Türk > Karakhanid literary language line, she seems to have missed this fact by claiming that the dialect of the Oghuz was not yet separated from the Karakhanid (Khaqanī) in the 11th century in a true sense, see Z. Korkmaz, "Kaşgarlı Mahmut ve Oğuz Türkçesi," *Türk Dili Üzerine Araştırmalar I*, Ankara 1995, 241–253, (originally in *Türk Dili* 253, October 1972, 3–19), 243. Mahmud of Kashgar is the first author providing linguistic material on the Oghuz. An elaborated examination of the data of the Oghuz dialect given by him was made by A. Karahan, "Dīvānū Lüġātī't-Türk'e Göre Oğuzca," In: *Oğuzlar: Dilleri, Tarihleri ve Kültürleri. 5. Uluslararası Türkiyat Araştırmaları Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, ed. T. Gündüz, M. Cengiz, Ankara 2015, 41–60.

⁵ The first reference to them is attributed to Baladhuri, according to whom 'Abd-Allah ibn Tāhir, governor of Khorasan (828–844) "sent his son Tāhir ibn 'Abd-Allah to the land of al-Ġuziyye to wage wars. Tāhir conquered places where nobody had reached before him." (el-Belāzurī, *Fütūhu'l-Buldān*, trans. M. Fayda, 2nd ed., Ankara 2002, 628).

⁶ Klyashtorny is of the opinion that after eventually losing the conflict with the Uyghur Kaghanate in the third phase of their rebellion, the Tokuz Oghuz migrated westward from the year 759 on, and this is supported by Ibn al-Athīr's account, see S. G. Klyashtorny, "The Oguzs of the Central Asia and the Guzs of the Aral Region," *International Journal of Central Asian Studies*, II (1997), 1–4, 2. However, such a 'great' migration was not recorded by Chinese sources or Uyghur inscriptions. On the other hand, we know, for instance, about migration of some (likely very little) parts of them to China during the Second Türk Kaghanate.

⁷ It was recorded in the Terkhin inscription, see S. G. Klyashtorny, "The Terkhin Inscription," *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae*, 36/1–3 (1982), 335–366.). Tekin approves it, and makes another suggestion for the Oghuz tribes: The text transcribed as *baš* (?) *qʷybaš* (?) by Klyashtorny ("The Terkhin Inscription", 342) is transcribed as *baš*

the 24 or 25 Western Oghuz tribes that were recorded by later sources. Czeglédy makes another reconstruction of another case. According to an archaic account in the geographer Gardizī's work from the 11th century, the Yagma tribe of the Tokuz Oghuz union migrated to the Karluk, who were then subjects of the (Western) Türk kaghan. This story is reinforced by the Uyghur Shine Us inscription and Chinese annals. The Yaghma fled after they were eventually defeated by the Uyghurs in 749.⁸ Czeglédy does not relate this migration of a Tokuz Oghuz tribe to the account of Ibn al-Athīr. It is our idea that the latter, having read the same source(s) as Gardizī, might have reached to the conclusion that the Oghuz migrated then to Transoxiana. It is true that the Yaghma migrated to the vicinity of Transoxiana; however, they were included in the later Karakhanid realm, and had nothing to do with the Oghuz.

There is an earlier record in T'ang-shu of such a migration, according to which some –visibly insignificant – part of the Eastern Türks fled to the “western lands” in the aftermath of the collapse of the first empire in 630.⁹ This is, however, related to the Kōk Türks, and not to the members of the Tokuz Oghuz union.

In the absence of accounts for movements of great populations from the east, the most logical approach might be to search for the ethnogenesis of the Sir Darya Oghuz within the On Ok > Türgesh realm. Our survey should start with the native records of the Kōk Türks.

The scope of this paper does not permit a compilation of views regarding the etymology of the word Oghuz. However, for the sake of building this paper, we have to acknowledge that we are closer to the conventional ‘Németh theory’, according to which the word *oğuz* means ‘tribes’, since the translation of the Turkic word *ok* is ‘tribe’ in Chinese.¹⁰ In addition, we believe that the Kōk Türks still meant ‘tribes’ by the word *oğuz*, perhaps with an unconscious usage of the archaic plural suffix –Vz. During the diplomatic phase of the anti-Türk coalition of China, the Kirghiz and the Türgesh in 709, kaghan of the Kirghiz said the following according to the Tonyukuk inscription: [*Türük bodunī yāmā*] *bulğanč ol temiš; oğuzī yāmā tarqınč ol temiš*. “[The Türk people] is in dis-

q(a)y (a)b(a) baš by Tekin. He notes that the Oghuz tribes Qay and Iva (Ava/Yava/Yawa) are mentioned here, see T. Tekin, “Kuzey Moğolistan’da Yeni Bir Uygur Anıtı: Taryat (Terhin) Kitabesi,” In: *Makaleler II. Tarihi Türk Yazı Dilleri*, ed. E. Yılmaz, N. Demir, Ankara 2004, 170–226, 181, 197. This reading, however, needs reconsideration.

⁸ K. Czeglédy, “Gardizi on the History of Central Asia (746–780 A.D.),” *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae*, 27/3 (1973), 257–267, 263–267.

⁹ Liu, *Çin Kaynaklarına Göre Doğu Türkleri*, 277.

¹⁰ Golden revisited the *ok* (thus On Ok, Oguz, Ogur) question in P. B. Golden, “Plemena Zapadnogo Tyurkskogo kaganata Ok (Oq) i Ogur-Oguz (Oğur-Oğuz). K voprosu o vzaimosvyazi terminov,” In: *Zapadnyi Tyurkskii Kaganat, Atlas*, ed. A. Dosymbaeva, M. Žoldasbekov, Almaty 2013, 50–81.

order; the Oghuz, their subjects, are also displeased, he said".¹¹ Disregarding the reconstructed '*Türk boduni*', the possessive suffix in *oğuz-ı* is very striking. It is unique in the inscriptions. It may refer to both 'their', as Tekin suggests, and 'his'. The previous sentences reference the Türk kaghan, and thus it is more plausible that the *oğuz* are 'his Oghuz', namely 'his subject tribes'.¹²

It is noteworthy that the ethnic name 'Oghuz' that is always used to describe the nine tribe union (Tokuz Oghuz) in the Türk inscriptions and early Medieval Islamic sources is not attested at all in the contemporary Chinese (early T'ang) records. Instead, the latter employ the meaning 'nine tribes' (or rather 'family') for them, too: *chiu-hsing*.¹³ Namely, for the Türks, *oğuz* was not a proper noun in those days, and the Chinese were aware of that fact, thus translating it as 'tribes'.¹⁴

The addressed mass in the inscriptions is clearly displayed by the words *türk oğuz*. In those usages, the two are not separated from each other, perhaps not in ethnic sense, but in referring to common language and styles: "Tokuz Oghuz lords and people! Hear these words of mine well, and listen hard."¹⁵ "Türk Oghuz lords and peoples, hear this!"¹⁶ The kaghan speaks with the Tokuz Oghuz folk, because "the Tokuz Oghuz people were my own people."¹⁷

The On Ok confederation,¹⁸ which constituted the western wing of the Kök Türk realm, was also expectedly among the collocutors: "See these writings

¹¹ T. Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, Bloomington 1968, 250, 286 (Tonyukuk, East 5).

¹² Prof. Zeki Kaymaz (personal communication) also advised us such a meaning.

¹³ For instance, see *Eski T'ang Tarihi (Chiu T'ang-shu)*, trans. İsenbike Togan et al., Ankara 2006, 384. E. Ekrem collected the concerning data in Chinese sources in "Çin Kaynaklarında Dokuz Oğuz Meselesi: Sayısal Yapısı," In: *Oğuzlar: Dilleri, Tarihleri ve Kültürleri. 5. Uluslararası Türkiyat Araştırmaları Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, ed. T. Gündüz, M. Cengiz, Ankara 2015, 189–220.

¹⁴ The view of Hamilton in this context that the common noun *toquz oğuz* 'nine tribes' underwent such a phonetical change as *toquz oğuz* under the influence of the last consonant of the first word is also very remarkable. Thus, in his view, the differentiated form *oğuz* then turned to be a proper noun. See J. Hamilton, "Tokuz-Oğuz ve On-Uygur", trans. Y. Koç – İ. Birkan, *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları*, 7 (1997), 187–232, 189–190.

¹⁵ Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 257 (Köl Tegin, South 2).

¹⁶ Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 267 (Köl Tegin, East 22).

¹⁷ Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 270 (Köl Tegin, North 4), 276 (Bilge Kaghan, East 29).

¹⁸ Formation of this entity does not date, surely, to the beginning of the Kök Türk domination in Central Asia (560's). The Byzantine sources report on eight divisions of the western wing of the Türk Empire. There seems to be no ethnic dimension in this division. Among others, Dobrovits believes that the On Ok were formed based on administrative divisions, see M. Dobrovits, "A nyugati türkök tíz törzsének kialakulása," [The genesis of the ten tribes of the Western Türks] *Antik Tanulmányok*, XLVIII (2004), 101–109, 108. We would reinforce two points here: The On Ok were clearly ethnic units; they were called *ok* 'tribe, surname' and each

and get a lesson (from them), all of you up to the descendants and subjects of the On Ok.”¹⁹ The subjects are ‘our others’, but the On Ok people, from which the Türgesh union was created, were ‘our own’, because “the Türgesh kaghan (and his people) were our Türks and our people.”²⁰ In an obverse way, the Türgesh kaghan says, by meaning the Eastern Türk lands that “my people are there”.²¹ Chinese sources support this case: “(After the death of Mo-ch’o in 716) Su-lu of the T’u-chüeh proclaimed himself kaghan and many of the T’u-chüeh officials ranged on his side.”²² Su-lu is the most famous Türgesh kaghan beginning his career in 716 and is depicted as a Türk by the sources, which have a strong knowledge regarding his Türgesh affiliation. The case of being politically suppressed does not alone present a reality that may explain these statements. The ‘Turkic’ peoples of the Central Eurasian steppes, at least the On Ok, are considered Türks by the kaghan.²³

member of it had its own tribal name. Secondly, lands of the Western Türk Empire included much wider regions from the shores of Azov to Jungaria; while the later On Ok lived in what is today Central and Eastern Kazakhstan. Thus, the two divisions do not suit each other in both ethnic and geographic senses. An intentional and traditional *decimal system* offered by Stark may not be true. He also believes that the On Ok organisation was created by Ishtemi, the ruler/conqueror of the western wing of the empire (552–576), see S. Stark, “On Oq Bodun. The Western Türk Qağanate and the Ashina Clan”, *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, 15 (2006–2007), 159–172.

¹⁹ Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 263 (Köl Tegin, South 12), 281 (Bilge Kaghan, North 15). Tekin translates the word *tat* as ‘subject’, but in his Turkish edition of the inscriptions he prefers the meaning ‘stranger’, getting closer to other Turkish editions: T. Tekin, *Orhon Yazıtları*⁵, Ankara 2014, 23. The word clearly designates ‘subjected other (people)’, see Sir G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 449. The only significant subject people of Western Turkestan were then the Sogdians; thus, in our opinion, the kaghan addresses them, too.

²⁰ Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 266 (Köl Tegin, East 18). Bilge Kaghan, East 16, repeats the same sentence.

²¹ Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 286 (Tonyukuk, East 4), following H. N. Orkun, *Eski Türk Yazıtları*³, Ankara 1994, 107, translates the sentence as “my people will be there”. So thinks Stark, too: Stark, *On Oq Bodun*, 166. The original sentence is *meniñ bodunum anta erür*. The copula verb *er-* is not used for future tense. The context, in the course of shaping an alliance, truly needs such a sentence, but in that case the Türgesh kaghan would say “my army will be there,” instead of expressing a part of folk in present tense. Thus, we preferred other editions, see M. Ergin, *Orhun Abideleri*⁷, İstanbul 1980, 55; E. Aydın, *Orhon Yazıtları*, Konya 2012, 112. We are grateful to Prof. Gürer Gülsevin for debating and clarifying this sentence.

²² Liu, *Çin Kaynaklarına Göre Doğu Türkleri*, 310.

²³ Although he does not consider the case in this sense, Dobrovits sums up the number of the Türk tribes as 30, as given by sources: 11 Eastern Türks, 9 Oğuz and 10 Western Türks, namely On Ok, see M. Dobrovits, “The Thirty Tribes of the Türks,” *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae*, 57/3 (2004), 257–262, 260.

Narrating the times of Bumin and Ishtemi, the first generation of the K k T rk state, Bilge Kaghan, owner of the inscriptions, says that “they settled [the T rk people] eastwards up to the Khingan mountains and westward as far as the Iron Gate. They ruled (organising) the K k T rks between the two (boundaries).”²⁴ We would object to this translation. It is by no means clear who were settled. Before the first sentence above, Bilge Kaghan comments on the conquest of the peoples in the ‘four directions’. Garrisons were surely sent to certain points, as well as some civilian groups. However, it is hard to believe that all of the vast area from Manchuria to Afghanistan was then populated by the T rks proper. It is crucial for the tribesmen of the On Ok confederation living in what is today Kazakhstan, too. The second cited sentence is originally *İkin ara idi oqs z K k T rk an a olurur ermi *, which should best be translated as “The highly disorganized K k T rks used to live so between the two (Manchuria and Afghanistan).”²⁵ What we understand from this sentence is that the T rks, even the K k T rks, used to live in olden times in the greater home (not merely in the Altay region or in the legendary ‘Ergenekon’) without any great polity; Bumin Kaghan, founder of the K k T rk state, changed the situation by organising the Turkic mass under the state administration. The ‘dynastical’ T rks in the Altay ranges otherwise had an organised structure even well before Bumin Kaghan (d.552), under the suzerainty of the Juan-Juan.

In Minorsky’s terms, “the ethnical unity of the Turks, the Ten Arrows, the Tokuz Oghuz and the Oghuz living to the north of the Turks was felt and claimed, but that politically the groups were disunited or separate”.²⁶ Such a consciousness of a wider Turkic ethnic entity and identity would not be without any reason and reality. Additionally, if this consciousness is based on the knowledge of common origins, then the T rks were on the boundaries of Transoxiana a significant time before that of al-Mahdi. Even a converse situation might be real. The T rks proper, who once reached as far as the Altay Mountains moving eastwards, continued their march and conquered Central Mongolia in the time of Bumin. It should be noted that the word *ilg r * ‘forward’ also means ‘east’ in Old Turkic language.

However, interests of one’s own tribe are always essential: “In order to nourish the people, I, with great armies, went on campaigns twelve times northwards against the Oghuz, eastwards against the Khitan and Tatabi peo-

²⁴ Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 263 (K l Tegin, East 2-3).

²⁵ Golden is of the idea that the term *oqs z* (lit. ‘tribeless’) refers here to the On Ok, see P. B. Golden, “Oq and O ur~O uz,” *Turkic Languages*, 16/2 (2012), 183-188, 184. However, in his opinion, it does not “provide definite evidence for the existence of an *On Oq* organization in the latter half of the 6th century.”

²⁶ V. Minorsky, “Tam m ibn Ba r’s Journey to the Uyghurs,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 12/2 (1948), 275-305, 286. However, his comment that the T rghesh kaghan says “We Oghuz”, referring to the Tonyukuk South 3, is not true. The speaker there is clearly the chief of the Tokuz Oghuz, sending emissaries to China and Khitan.

ples, southwards against the Chinese.”²⁷ There were no expeditions for plundering towards Central Asia, perhaps for the distance was great. However, besides the efforts to realise political unity of the Türks living in that vast area in an *oqsız* ‘disorganised’ way, the very provocative cooperation of the On Ok with the Chinese and Kirghiz against the Kök Türks resulted in the march of the armies of the latter departing from Ötüken, the centre of the Kök Türks, down to Central Asia, beginning in the winter of 709-710. Western expeditions of the Second Kök Türk Empire were well studied; in particular, Giraud’s book references the story of those days.²⁸ Thus, we will not technically analyse the case, but strive to see ethno-political significances and perceptions in the sources.

In view of the great men in Ötüken, the On Ok/Türgesh region was a hereditary and natural part of the once great Kök Türk Empire, and was now ‘mistakenly’ outside the Second Empire. Lion’s share in this mistake was of the Türgesh rulers: “The Türgesh kaghan (and his people) were our Türks and our people. On account of their foolishness and their being traitorous to us, their kaghan was killed; his commanders and lords, too, were killed. The On Ok people suffered (a great deal).”²⁹

It is hard not to see the sadness of Bilge Kaghan regarding the developments. In some other cases, the *bodun* ‘people’ is ‘killed’, but there are no such expressions. It seems he (they) did not want to harm the civil (On Ok) people. He wanted rulers of the Türgesh only to obey the kaghan and to cease cooperation with China. This did not materialise, however, and the people were ultimately harmed. The continuing texts show that the common people were treated well as long as they maintained obedience. Although this behaviour is not rare in steppe polities for both ‘our’ and ‘other’ peoples, some ethnic sentiments are visible in this case. It would be useful to have a glance at the texts in question.

After the Kök Türk army had defeated the Kirghiz in 710, when Köl Tegin was 26 years old, Kapgan Kaghan sent the army onto the Türgesh, the western participant of the tri-partite alliance: “In that year we marched (against the Türgesh) climbing over (the Altay Mountains) and crossing over the Irtish

²⁷ Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 266 (Köl Tegin, East 28), Bilge Kaghan, East 16, repeats the same sentence.

²⁸ The story is scattered through the parts dedicated to political history of the Second Empire, and readers would hardly find a thorough analysis of the mentioned expedition: R. Giraud, *Gök Türk İmparatorluğu. İlteriş, Kapgan ve Bilge’nin Hükümdarlıkları (680–734)*, trans. İ. Mangaltepe, İstanbul 1999, different pages. Gömeç draws a better picture: S. Gömeç, *Kök Türk Tarihi*⁴, Ankara 2011, 145–156. Dobrovits has a paper on this expedition, dating between the years 711 and 714. However, he does not make a deep analysis of the events: M. Dobrovits, “The Great Western Campaign of the Eastern Turks (711–714),” *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae*, 58/2 (2005), 179–185.

²⁹ Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 268 (Köl Tegin, East 18–19), Bilge Kaghan, East 23, repeats the same sentence.

River. We fell upon the Türgesh people while they were asleep. The army of the Türgesh kaghan came (upon us) like fire and storm at Bolchu. We fought... There we killed their kaghan and took their realm. The common Türgesh people all submitted to us. We settled those people at Tabar.”³⁰ The same case is narrated in the Bilge Kaghan inscription as such: “In that year I marched against the Türgesh, climbing over the Altay Mountains and crossing over the Irtish River, and fell upon (the Türgesh people while they were asleep). The army of the Türgesh kaghan came (upon us) like fire and storm. We fought at Bolchu. There I killed their kaghan, their yabgu and their šad; there I took their realm.”³¹

Tonyukuk, the chief counsellor of the state, relates this expedition in more detail: “The Chinese emperor was our enemy; the On Ok kaghan was our enemy; (furthermore) the populous (Kirghiz and their) mighty (kaghan) became (our enemy). These three kaghans apparently consulted together and said: ‘Let us come together at the Altay Mountains. They apparently consulted together as follows... The Türgesh kaghan reportedly said as follows: ‘My people are there’ he said. ‘(the Türk people) is in disorder; their Oghuz are also displeased (with them)’.”³² After defeating the Kirghiz, as said, they turned to the Türgesh: “Meanwhile a scout came from the Türgesh kaghan... (the scout) said: ‘The Türgesh kaghan has reportedly marched off’. He says, ‘the On Ok people all have marched off’ he says.”³³

They waited in the Altay Mountains and reviewed the situation. Kapgan Kaghan, who had commanded the army until then, returned to his ‘capital’ Ötüken for the funeral of his wife, who had died shortly before; consequently, Tonyukuk, together with the outstanding princes of the time, continued the campaign. They received new reports: “There came three scouts. Their messages were all alike: ‘The kaghan has marched off with the army. The army of the On Ok has marched off, all to a man’ they say. They apparently said: ‘Let us gather together on the Yarish plain’.”³⁴ Despite the order of Kapgan to remain there until new orders came, Tonyukuk recognized an ongoing intrigue within the army against him, and he ordered to march: “We climbed over the Altay Mountains without any roads, and we crossed over the Irtish River without any fords. We made (the army) to march (even) by night, and arrived in Bolchu while the dawn was breaking.”³⁵

In contrary to the Köl Tegin and Bilge Kaghan inscriptions, the Tonyukuk inscription contains details of the battle in Bolchu. Having heard that one hundred thousand troops (ten divisions ‘tümen’ in the text) gathered in the Yarish

³⁰ Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 269 (Köl Tegin, East 36–38).

³¹ Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 276 (Bilge Kaghan, East 27–28).

³² Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 285–286 (Tonyukuk, East 2–5). We slightly changed the translation.

³³ Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 287 (Tonyukuk, East 5–6).

³⁴ Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 287 (Tonyukuk, East 9).

³⁵ Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 288 (Tonyukuk, East 11).

plain, the Kök Türk commanders were afraid of the situation, but Tonyukuk encouraged them. Consequently, the On Ok were heavily defeated at the battlefield. Their kaghan was captivated; their yabghu and shad were killed. "After having heard those tidings, the lords and people of the On Ok all came and submitted. Having organised and gathered together, the lords and the people who had come (and joined us), since a few of the people had fled, I ordered the On Ok troops to march off. We, too, marched off, and followed them up. Having crossed over the Yenchü River and passed by the sacred Ak Tag, which is (also) called Tenshi Oghli, we came as far as the Temir Kapig (Iron Gate)." ³⁶

Küli Chor, a prince of the Kök Türk dynasty ruling over the subject Tardush union, was chief of the troops reaching as far as Temir Kapig in the north of Afghanistan. An inscription was erected for this brave prince, but, in addition to the damages on the stone, the account on the expedition is very short: "He mounted his saddle-horse and (suddenly attacked) and killed three men. After organising the Tür(giş people), Küli Chor mounted his private reddish-brown horse and... ..Afterwards he went (forward), crossed over the Yenchü River and (led) the army as far as Temir Kapig and the (land of the) Tezik and conquered (all these lands)." ³⁷ Additionally, the Hoytu Tamir inscription, written in the time of Bilge Kaghan, briefly refers to the campaign. ³⁸

While the Kök Türk army was organising the Sogdian regions and partly conquering south of the Sir Darya River, the Türgesh remnants restarted the trouble: "After that the common Türgesh people rose in revolt, and went toward Kengeresh. Our army horses were lean (and exhausted), and our army had no provisions... We sent Köl Tegin forward together with a few men. He fought a great battle, we were told... There he killed and subjugated the common Türgesh people." ³⁹

The Chinese sources (*Early T'ang Shu*) briefly narrate about this event, but with the background: "(In 709) Che-nu, younger brother of So-ko (the Türgesh kaghan) revolted against his brother, being angry of the number of tribes given him, and went to the T'u-chüeh. He offered to guide them in his country to punish So-ko. Then Mo-ch'o (Kapgan Kaghan) retained Che-nu; mobilized 20.000 troops and came to attack So-ko together with his companions. He captured him and returned back. On the other hand, he said Che-nu: 'You cannot get along with your brothers. How could you be faithful to me?' Thus, he killed him together with So-ko." ⁴⁰

³⁶ Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 288–289 (Tonyukuk, West 7–8).

³⁷ Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 294 (Küli Çor, East 3–4). Tekin translated the words *tür... etdökde* as "at war against the (Tümät?)." No such a people is known, and the historical context displays that the enemy were the Türgesh. Besides, the verb *et-* means "to organize, put in order" (Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, 36), which complies with the context supported by the other inscriptions. Thus, we followed the translation of Aydın (*Orhon Yazıtları*, 146).

³⁸ Orkun, *Eski Türk Yazıtları*, 110–111.

³⁹ Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 269–270 (Köl Tegin, East 39–40).

⁴⁰ Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, 44, 80–81.

We aim at surveying the word ‘Oghuz’ in the west, and some details in usage of that word may be helpful. Thus, we should pay attention to the battle in Bolchu: “The Tokuz Oghuz people were my own people. Since heaven and earth were in disorder, they revolted (against us). We fought five times in a year. First, we fought at Toghu Balik... Secondly, we fought against the Ediz at Kush-Alghak... thirdly, we fought against the Oghuz at Bolchu...⁴¹ We killed their army and conquered their realm. Fourthly, we fought at the headwaters of Chush... Fifthly, we fought against the Oghuz at Ezginti-Kadiz... The army was killed there. After we spent the winter at Amgha Korghan, in spring we marched off with an army against the Oghuz.”⁴²

The sixth war, the latest, was very dramatic for the Kōk Türks, and they avoided being annihilated due to the very brave resistance of Kōl Tegin. There is some doubt regarding the second and third wars. The Ediz tribe is not counted among the Tokuz Oghuz, but were (likely one of the easternmost) members of the South Siberian T’ieh-lê union. They were associated with the A-tie, although the Tokuz Oghuz were also members of the T’ieh-lê,⁴³ and despite the Bilge Kaghan inscription mentioning them at the beginning of the text, among the addressed: “Oh, nomadic lords and peoples of the... Sir, Tokuz Oghuz and Eki (Two) Ediz.”⁴⁴ The third war is even more interesting. The victory is definite according to the text, but such a case contradicts with the following great wars, the latest of which was fatal for the Kōk Türks. If the reading *bolču* is true, and if it is the Bolchu to the south of Irtysh, we would either suppose that the Kōk Türk and Tokuz Oghuz troops travelled together to a distant west plain to start a war, and returned back within the same year. This seems improbable. Or, more plausibly, the Oghuz referred to here were a different people. The fourth and fifth wars with the Tokuz Oghuz were fought in the east.

⁴¹ Tekin leaves blank the place name in the English edition, but in his later Turkish edition of the inscription, he writes *bol[ču]da* (Tekin, *Orhon Yazıtları*, 37). According to Ergin (Ergin, *Orhun Abideleri*, 29), it is directly *Bulču*. Orkun writes it as *bu[...]da* (Orkun, *Eski Türk Yazıtları*, 50). Aydın reads it as *bur[gu]da* (Aydın, *Orhon Yazıtları*, 61). In an earlier paper, he explains why it can be read as *Burgu*, and associates it with the river name *Burgu* occurring in the Šine Us and Terkhin inscriptions, see E. Aydın, “Kōl Tegin Yazıtının Kuzey Yüzünün 6. Satırında Bir Düzeltme Denemesi ve Bir Öneri,” *Bilig* 43 (2007), 55–62, 57, 58. It seems plausible, because the Uyghur kaghans in the succeeding generation lived there, between the Qarga and Burgu rivers (Klyashtorny, *The Terkhin Inscription*, 344).

⁴² Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 270–271 (Kōl Tegin, North 4–9).

⁴³ P. B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*, Wiesbaden 1992, 156. As the precise paper of Ekrem shows, the Ediz are not counted among the nine – Oghuz – tribes, but are historically just next to them to share their fate, see Ekrem, *Çin Kaynaklarında Dokuz Oğuz*, esp. 200–201. Giraud, *Gök Türk İmparatorluğu*, 265–266, rejects associating the Ediz with the A-tie.

⁴⁴ Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 275 (Bilge Kaghan, East 1).

A comparison of the text of the Köl Tegin inscription with that of the Bilge Kaghan would help enlighten the case. The latter, speaking of four battles in a year, unifies the first, fourth and fifth wars in an uninterrupted story: "(The Tokuz Oghuz) were my own people. Since Heaven and Earth were in disorder, and since they were green with envy, they started hostilities (against us). I fought four times in a year. First I fought at Toghu-Balik. After I had crossed the Toghla River ordering (our men) to swim... their army. Secondly, I fought at Antirghu and put their army to the lance... (Thirdly) I fought (at the headwaters of Chush). The Türk people tottered and was about to be routed. I put their army, which had come assaulting and spreading, to flight... Fourthly, I fought at Ezginti-Kadiz. There I put their army to the lance and destroyed it. At the age of forty (?) famine prevailed while we were spending the winter at Amgha-Qorgha. In the spring I went on a campaign against the Oghuz."⁴⁵

That spring was difficult for the Kök Türks, as the story progresses to state the same as in the Köl Tegin inscription; Bilge Kaghan's brother Köl Tegin saved the dynasty and the state. Ultimately, the Tokuz Oghuz were routed and a significant part of them took refuge in China in 717. We can make such a table to compare the two inscriptions:

Battles in the Köl Tegin inscription

1. with Oghuz at Toghu Balik
2. with Ediz at Kush-Alghak
3. with Oghuz at Bolchu
4. (with Oghuz) at Chush
5. with Oghuz at Ezginti-Kadiz

Battles in the Bilge Kaghan inscription

1. with Oghuz at Toghu Balik
2. with Oghuz at Antirghu
3. (with Oghuz) at Chush
4. (with Oghuz) at Ezginti-Kadiz

The second and third wars in the Köl Tegin drop in the Bilge Kaghan inscription, and the second one at Antirghu is introduced. Thus, it seems that two battles in the Köl Tegin text are doubtful. The Kush-Alghak battle was mentioned because the Ediz were likely allies of the Tokuz Oghuz, but was removed in the refined Bilge Kaghan inscription that was written a few years later. Thus, we would either equate the war at Bolchu of the Köl Tegin with the Antirghu of the Bilge Kaghan, or presume that the Türgesh war in 710 was mistakenly introduced in the text for the year 716. On the other hand, we have a record of a war with the Karluks at Tamagh.⁴⁶ The Karluks used to live just in the vicinity of Bolchu, possibly between the rivers Urungu and Kara Irtish.⁴⁷ If it happened in 715 as Giraud believes,⁴⁸ then Kök Türk troops campaigning in the west might have touched on the Türgesh, allies of the Karluks, for a second

⁴⁵ Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 276–277 (Bilge Kaghan, East 29–32).

⁴⁶ Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 270 (Köl Tegin, North 1).

⁴⁷ Dobrovits, *A nyugati türkök tíz törzsének kialakulása*, 108.

⁴⁸ Giraud, *Gök Türk İmparatorluğu*, 278.

time at Bolchu. Additionally, if the Türgesh were also called Oghuz, as we suggest, then the author of the Köl Tegin inscription would not hesitate to include it among the (Tokuz) Oghuz wars of the next year. In any case, the chronology of the inscriptions contains some ambiguities at this point.

The relationship between Kök Türk and Tokuz Oghuz has a complicated history, beginning with the first days of the Second Kaghhanate. Bilge Kaghhan exhausted most of his energy to subdue them. The shorter Ongin inscription erected for the name of Ishbara Tamgan Tarkan also mentions this last phase of the conflict,⁴⁹ as well as the Tonyukuk inscription, giving further details.⁵⁰

The Oghuz living just to the northeast of the Kök Türk capital county on the Orkhon valley are mentioned both as Oghuz and Tokuz Oghuz (we additionally have the 30 Oghuz). However, it seems the same word was used for the On Ok/Türgesh, too, if the statement on the war in Bolchu with the Oghuz is true. This place name occurs in the Shine Us inscription erected by the Uyghur kaghhan Moyen Čur in 759 or 760: "I defeated the Three Karluk at the Bolchu River."⁵¹ Considering the route of the Kök Türk army in 710 down to the western skirts of the Altays, Bolchu was one day distant to the southwest after crossing the Irtish River. It was both the name of a place (Kök Türk ins.) and a river (Shine Us ins.). It is to be the Ulungur (Urungu) River now; as a place, it may be the plain where is now the town Buluntoghoy.⁵² The name of the Yarish plain, mentioned in the Tonyukuk inscription as the gathering point of the On Ok troops, also occurs in the Shine Us writings. It was possibly the name of the overall plain, and Bolchu was within it. Gömeç locates this plain between Tarbaghatay and the T'ien-shan ranges in Jungaria.⁵³

Consequently, the inscriptions likely mention a war of the Kök Türks with the Oghuz at Bolchu, where the former had waged a war against the Türgesh. Thus, the referenced Oghuz are to be the Türgesh. Even if the record is doubtful, it is expectable, since the western Oghuz union emerged chronologically after the disappearance of the Türgesh within the same ethnic basin in the same region. One should once more remember that there is no reliable and clear account regarding the Oghuz migration from the remote east to the west of Central Asia. We do have an informed understanding concerning the usage of the word *oq* 'tribe' for the Western Türks: On Ok "Ten Tribes". The aforementioned sentence in the Köl Tegin inscription consolidates our idea: "From my On Ok descendants, from the Türgesh kaghhan, seal-keepers Makarach and Oghuz Bilge came."⁵⁴ Oghuz Bilge was surely an eminent personality to represent his horde in the funeral of Köl Tegin. The problem is that we do not know

⁴⁹ Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 291 (Ongin, Front 5–6).

⁵⁰ Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 270 (Tonyukuk, South 2–9).

⁵¹ E. Aydın, *Şine Usu Yazıtı*, Çorum 2007, 60.

⁵² Giraud, *Gök Türk İmparatorluğu*, 258; E. Aydın, "Bulçu Yer Adı Üzerine Notlar," *Turkish Studies*, V/1 (Winter 2010), 178–186. S. Gömeç, "Kök Türkçe Yazıtlarda Geçen Yer Adları," *Türk Kültürü*, XXXIX/453 (January 2001), 25–36, 28.

⁵³ Gömeç, *Kök Türkçe Yazıtlarda Geçen Yer Adları*, 36.

⁵⁴ Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 272 (Köl Tegin, North 13).

about using the word 'Oghuz' as a personal name, until the emergence of the genesis legend of the Oghuz, the earliest version of which was written in the 13th century. Should we not translate the name of the representative as "the wise of the Oghuz", as offered by Sümer?⁵⁵ Moreover, it would not be too much exaggeration to identify him with the legendary Dede Korkut, who is said in a few instances to have organised the Oghuz ethnic structure ("boy boyladı, soy soyladı"), according to the *Book of Dedem Korkut*?

Thus, we should reconsider the account of Ibn al-Athir. We offer the following reconstruction: The Türgesh were called (also) Oghuz (lit. 'tribes'), referring to the name of the wider On Ok union. This does not mean that the later Oghuz people descended directly from the Türgesh. In the aftermath of the 710 quarrel, (parts of) the Türgesh moved further west due to the Kök Türk pressure: "(They) went toward Kengeresh",⁵⁶ i.e. the Proto-Pechenegs. This is where the Sir Darya Oghuz appeared in the succeeding generations. It was surely the case that some other ethnic processes occurred too. They absorbed some local tribes; furthermore, some others coming from the South Siberian belt joined them.⁵⁷ Thus, the union grew up and the well populous Oghuz people of the 9th and 10th centuries were created. The difficulty in matching the names of the 24 or 25 or even more Oghuz tribes given by sources written from the late 11th century on by Mahmud of Kashgar and others, with those of the members of the On Ok union given by Chinese sources may be due to the fact that the original Türgesh components perhaps only constituted a small part of the Oghuz; and the majority were of those coming from "remote countries" of Ibn al-Athir. Since the Türgesh identity almost died out in the time of Al-Mahdī, and the making of the Oghuz simultaneously started, a bulk of the participants might have migrated in the last decades of the 8th century.

⁵⁵ Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, 46.

⁵⁶ Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 269 (Köl Tegin, East 39).

⁵⁷ In relation to some later-coming elements of the Oguz union, see: O. Karatay, "The Making of the Oğuz: Why Their Eponymous Ancestors are Western Peoples?" In: *Meždunarodnaja naučno-teoretičeskaja konferencija Nasledie Zapadnogo Tyurkkogo Kaganata v Kontekste Razvitija Mirovoj Civilizacii*, 11 December 2013, Astana (not yet published. Its Turkish version was included in my varia *İlk Oğuzlar. Köken, Türeyiş ve Erken Tarihleri Üzerine Çalışmalar*, İstanbul 2017, 82–89; ibid. "Salur-Peçenek Savaşları: Oğuz Kimliğinin Oluşum Aşamalarını Tespit İçin Bir Deneme," In: *17. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, 15–17 Eylül 2014, Ankara (not yet published; included in Karatay, *İlk Oğuzlar*, 93–112). In contrary to Gumilyëv, who asserts that, being ethnic successors of the ancient Sarmathians and Alans, the Oghuz were an old ethnos in the 10th century (L. N. Gumilyëv, *Hazar Çevresinde Bin Yıl*², trans. D. A. Batur, İstanbul 2002, 286), we believe that they were being formed around the year 800, and were ready to become widespread in the 10th century, after completing their ethnogenesis.

An Unremembered Hungarian Friar's Martyrdom in the Golden Horde

SZILVIA KOVÁCS*



In the last decades of the 13th and in the first half of the 14th century, Hungarian Franciscans played an important role in Christian conversion of the Golden Horde. Some of them achieved a great career in the court of the Golden Horde's Khans. Elias of Hungary was not only a trusted friend of Özbek (r. 1313–1341) and also his son, but he was entrusted with a mission to the Pope; others died as martyrs in the 14th century. The Hungarian Franciscan friar, Stephan (Stephanus de Hungaria) was executed in Sarai, the centre of the Golden Horde in April of 1334. His martyrdom is mentioned frequently in the sources of the Franciscan Order and some of them contain details of the events leading to his execution and about his death. Although Stephan's passio is characterised by general particularities of its genre, it contains a lot of useful information on the history of Golden Horde and the history of the missions on its territory. The data of the passio can contribute to refining and clarifying other disputed data regarding the history of the region.

The missions of the Latin Christianity among the non-Christian people of the south Russian steppe started in the first half of the 13th century. The first missionaries who appeared on that territory were from the Dominican Order.¹ First, the Dominicans' missions were focused on Cumans in the 1220s.² The

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¹ Incidentally, when the presentation of this article was made in 2016, the Dominicans celebrated the 800th anniversary of the founding of their tradition of preaching, prayer, study, and community.

² Although, the Order of Friars Preachers, established in 1216, had two apostolic tasks ("preaching and the salvation of souls"), the Dominicans originally were active in the heartlands of Christian Europe. At the beginning, their aim was to reform the "faith and morals" of heretics and, in this sense, their missions were internal ones. However, it is important to mention that, on the basis of a tradition that emerged in the 1230s, St. Dominic himself (who died in 1221) had once intended to proselytise among the pagan Cumans. Despite St. Dominic's missionary ambitions, the fifth master general, Humbert of Romans (1254–1263), elected in Buda (Hungary), was the first, who urged to bring "the name of the lord Jesus

Kingdom of Hungary cooperated with the friars in converting the Cumans living in East Europe and organising a Cuman bishopric in 1228.³ Shortly after that, the Hungarian Dominicans learned about non-Christian Hungarians who were left behind somewhere in the East while the rest migrated to the Carpathian Basin. The Dominicans' aim was to find and convert those Hungarians. That is why they travelled to the East in the 1230s.⁴ However, the Mongol Invasion between 1236 and 1242 terminated these first missionary efforts.

Just over a decade after the Mongol Invasion, missionaries reappeared again on the south Russian steppe. At that time, the territory belonged to the Ulus of Jochi (i.e. the Golden Horde).

Christ... to all the barbarians and peoples of the world (*barbaris et gentibus universis*).” R. Vose, *Dominicans, Muslims and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon*. Cambridge 2009, 21–59.

³ On the missions of the Dominicans from the Kingdom of Hungary see: N. Pfeiffer, *Die ungarische Dominikanerprovinz von ihrer Gründung 1221 bis zur Tatarenverwüstung 1241–1242*. Zürich 1913, 75–92; B. Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts: Forschungen zur Geschichte der kirchlichen Unionen und der Mohammedaner- und Heidenmission des Mittelalters*. Habelschwerdt 1924, 141–148; K. Szovák, “A kun misszió helye és szerepe a magyarországi domonkosok korai történeti hagyományában,” [The Place and Role of Mission among the Cumans in early tradition of the Hungarian Dominicans] In: *A Szent Domonkos rend és a kunok*. Szerk. Barna G. Szeged 2016, 115–126; I. Ferenc, *Cumanii și episcopia lor*. [Cumans and their Bishopric] Blaj 1931, 115–152; L. Makkai, *A milkói (kún) püspökség és népei*. [The bishopric of the Cumans of Milcov and its people] Debrecen 1936; V. Spinei, “The Cuman bishopric – genesis and evolution,” In: *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages. Avars, Bulgars, Khazars, and Cumans*, ed. Fl. Curta with the assistance of R. Kovalev. Leiden–Boston 2008, 413–456.

⁴ In the 1230s, four groups of Dominicans started to look after the inhabitants of Magna Hungaria (Great Hungary): 1. At the beginning of the 1230s (1232?), four Dominican friars travelled to the East (only one of them, Otto, returned). 2. After that, four friars (among them Gerard and Julian) started their journey again and found Hungarians near the river Volga in 1236. 3. While Julian was in Rome, another four missionaries set off in the spring of 1237, but they did not reach Magna Hungaria. 4. Finally, Julian was on his way to the East with other friars, but they had to return because of the Mongol invasion, see L. Bendefy, “Ottó testvér 1231–1234 évi utazása,” [The Journey of brother Otto in 1231–1234] *Földrajzi Közlemények* 1937/8–10, 211–224; L. Bendefy, *Kéziratos kútfők Fr. Julianus utazásáról. Richardus beszámolója és Julianus levelei*, [Manuscripts about Fr. Julian's journey. The report of Richard and the letters of Julian.] Budapest 1943; Gy. Györffy, *Julianus barát és a napkelet fölfedezése*. [Friar Julian and the discovery of the East] Válogatta, a bevezető tanulmányt és a jegyzeteket írta Györffy Gy. Ford. Györffy Gy. és Gy. Ruitz I. Budapest 1986, 7–57; H. Dörrie, *Drei Texte zur Geschichte der Ungarn und Mongolen: die Missionsreisen des Fr. Julianus, O.P., ins Uralgebiet (1234/5) und nach Russland (1237) und der Bericht des Erzbischofs Peter über die Tartaren*. Göttingen 1956, 125–182; R. Hautala, “Early Hungarian Information on the Beginning of the Western Campaign of Batu (1235–1242),” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 69/2 (2016) 183–199.

After the Mongol Invasion, another mendicant order, the Franciscans acted in the Dominicans' place. The first record about the Franciscans' mission on the territory of the Golden Horde is from 1278.⁵ However, we have only sporadic information regarding their missions; it seems that an increasing number of the Hungarian Franciscans participated in the building of *Vicariatus Tartariae Aquilonaris*. That vicariate embraced the territory of the Golden Horde in the second half of the 13th century. The sources from the 13th and 14th centuries mentioned the Hungarian Franciscan brothers' excellent knowledge of languages. More precisely, the Franciscans' letters referenced that the Hungarian brothers learned the language for the mission easily and quickly.⁶ That language was probably the *lingua franca* of the south Russian steppe, the Kipchak Turkic language of the Cumans. Hungarian Franciscans had some advantages from this aspect. Firstly, there is a typological closeness between the Hungarian and Turkic languages. Secondly, Hungarian Franciscans had the opportunity to learn the Turkic language among the Cumans who settled down in the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom after the Mongol Invasion.

The protagonist of my paper is a Franciscan brother, Stephen of Hungary, "who came from the town of Várad" (today Nagyvárad/Oradea, Romania). Although there is a relatively long *relatio* (or *passio*, that is an account of martyrs suffering) about his martyrdom, Stephen is not as well-known as his brother, who calls himself brother Iohanca of Hungary (*frater Iohanca Hungarus*).⁷ Various versions of Stephen's *Passion* exist.⁸ The longest and most com-

⁵ That is Hungarian related information: Pope Nicholas III (r. 1277–1280) asked his legate to the Hungarian Kingdom to inquire about the situation of the bishopric on the Milcov River. On the same day (7th October) the pope wrote a letter to the Hungarian provincial of the Franciscan Order and instructed him to send Franciscans in Cumania (*Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia maximam partem nondum edita ex tabulariis Vaticanis*. I. (1216–1352) Deprompta collecta ac serie chronologica disposita ab A. Theiner. Romae 1859, 337).

⁶ M. Bihl and A. C. Moule, "De duabus epistolis Fratrum Minorum Tartariae Aquilonaris an. 1323," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 16 (1923), 109; M. Bihl and A. C. Moule, "Tria nova documenta de missionibus Fr. Min. Tartariae Aquilonaris annorum 1314–1322. Textus trium novorum documentorum e Tartaria Aquilonari an. 1314–1322," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 17 (1924) 67; cf. L. Bendefy, "Fontes authentici itinera (1235–1238) fr. Iuliani illustrantes," *Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis* 3 (1937), 48.

⁷ As reported in his letter, Hungarian brother Iohanca travelled to Bascardia with his company (that is the land of the people then called Bashkirs, near the juncture of the Volga and Kama rivers). See the letter Bihl-Moule, *Tria nova*, 65–70; Bendefy, *Fontes*, 50–47.

⁸ A shorter version, perhaps an abridgement of the primary source, can be read in the chronicle of John of Winterthur (*Iohannes de Vitoduranus*). That story concentrates on the tribulations of Stephen and the miracles and provides less relevant information than the longer version. Cf. *Chronica Iohannis Vitodurani*. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova series 3.) Ed. F.

plete texts of his *Passion* can be found in the Chronicle of the Twenty-Four Generals of the Order of Friars Minor (*Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Minorum*) written between the 1360s and 1370s.⁹ The author of the chronicle is considered to be Arnald of Sarrant, although no manuscript bears his name. The chronicle tells the history of the Franciscan order from the time of Saint Francis until the beginning of the Western Schism in 1378.¹⁰

Stephen of Hungary's (...*Stephani de Hungaria de civitate Narodin oriundi*...) martyrdom is discussed in the chronicle in a relatively detailed manner.¹¹ According to the date in the beginning of the source, he died "in the year of the Lord 1334, on the 22nd day of the month of April" (*anno Domini MCCCXXXIV, XXII. die mensis Aprilis*).¹² In that year, the 22nd day of April was a Friday. However, we can read at the end of the account that he was put to death on the Saturday, the day of Saint George (*sabbato, in festo sancti Georgii Martyris*), that is the 23rd day of April.¹³ Of course, it is also possible that he in fact died on 22nd of April, but due to his martyrdom, Franciscans changed his date of death

Baethgen, C. Brun, Berlin 1924, 147–149). I refer to the significant differences when they are relevant.

⁹ *Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, In: *Analecta Franciscana sive chronica allaque varia documenta ad historiam Fratrum Minorum spectantia*. Tom. III. Edita a Patribus Collegii S. Bonaventurae. Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), prope Florentiam 1897, 515–524; for the Hungarian translation of the source, see: Ö. Bölcskey, "Várad István magyar ferencrendi áldozópap vértanúsága a tatárok városában, Bakcsi-Szaráiban, 1334-ben," [Martyrdom of the Hungarian Franciscan priest, Stephen of Várad in the city of the Tatars, Bakhchysarai, in 1334] *Ferences Közlöny* 8 (1928) 80–83, 113–116, 144–146; for the English translation of the source, see: Arnald of Sarrant, *Chronicle of the Twenty-Four Generals of the Order of Friars Minor [1369–1374]*. English trans. by N. Muscat OFM, Malta 2010, 695–708. The story in Wadding's work goes back to the passion in the *Chronica XXIV Generalium* (L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum seu Trium Ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum*. Tomus VII. (1323–1346). Editio secunda. Romae 1733, 159–166).

¹⁰ The Chronicle contains the history of the Franciscan Order from the time of its foundation to the Minister General Leonard Giffoni (1373–1378). The greater part of the sources was written before 1369 but it was finished in 1374, since the author of the chronicle mentions the Cardinal Protector Guillaume of Limoges (*Chronica XXIV*, 575; *Chronicle*, 775), who died in that year (*Chronicle*, 7–8).

¹¹ In the chronicle of Winterthur: *frater Minor, nomine Stephanus, de Ungaria oriundus* (*Die Chronik*, 147).

¹² In the chronicle of Winterthur: *Passus est autem anno Domini MCCCXXXIII. sub Osbosecho imperatore Tartarorum XI. kalendas Aprilis* (*Die Chronik* 149), i.e. he died on 22 April 1334.

¹³ "...Saturday, which was the feast of the Martyr Saint George..." (*Chronica XXIV*, 515, 522; Bölcskey, *Várad István*, 80, 145; *Chronicle*, 695, 705). Although there are some countries (for example, Hungary) where Saint George's Day is celebrated on the 24th of April, in other countries the day of the saint is 23rd of April. The source denominates Saturday, and also according to the inner chronological order of events, Stephen died on Saturday. Based on the Julian calendar in 1334, the 23rd of April was Saturday.

to 23rd of April, to the feast of Saint George, a martyr who was one of the most venerated saints in Christianity.

Stephen died “in the town of Saray in the northern regions of the empire of the great king Osbeth, emperor of the Tartars” (*in civitate Saray imperii magni regis Osbeth, imperatoris Tartarorum in parte aquilonari*).¹⁴

In the following, I will briefly summarise the history of the ten days as described in Stephen’s Passion. The 25-year-old friar¹⁵ was detained in the Saint John convent, which was three miles away from Saray and he was “closed in a cell in order to discipline himself and make penitence for his sins” by the vicar of the North (although we do not know anything about those sins). He managed to escape from there, so his brothers wanted to send him to the town of Caffa, where they had a good friary in which he could be guarded properly. Brother Stephen escaped again and went to the town of Saray. On his way, he met a Muslim acquaintance and told him that he wanted to become a Muslim. His Muslim acquaintance took the Franciscan to the cadi of the city. Before the cadi, Brother Stephen expressed his intention to become a Muslim once more (*Volo effici Saracenus*). On the next day, Friday, Stephen was led to the mosque and recanted his Christian faith and he confessed Islam in front of a congregate of Muslims. However, Stephen regretted his conversion on the same day. Accordingly, he welcomed the Franciscans’ messenger from Saray. The Franciscans asked Stephen to come back to the Order and return to his old faith. Having agreed, Stephen confessed his sins to the guardian of the convent, Henry of Bohemia (*Henricus de Bohemia Guardianus*) on Sunday. On Monday, Stephen went to the mosque again during the morning prayer and publicly confessed his faith in Christ and blackguarded Muhammad and the rules of Islam: “your religion is false and wicked and that Mohammed is a pseudo-prophet and a deceiver” (*legem vestram falsam et iniquam et Machometum pseudopropheta et deceptorem fuisse comprobavi*). After that, Stephen was tortured in various ways by the Muslims from Monday to Saturday, but due to some miracles he lasted until the day of Saint George when he finally died.¹⁶

However, Stephen’s schematically described Passion is somewhat naive, but it contains some useful information from a historical perspective. Firstly, it mentioned three convents of the Franciscans: the first one was near Saray (named Saint John), the second one was in the town of Saray and the third one was on the Crimea Peninsula, in the town of Caffa.¹⁷ The existence of the three convents is confirmed by other Franciscans sources.¹⁸ It seems that there were

¹⁴ *Chronica XXIV*, 515; Bölcskey, *Váradi István*, 80, 145; *Chronicle*, 695.

¹⁵ *Chronica XXIV*, 519; Bölcskey, *Váradi István*, 113; *Chronicle*, 700.

¹⁶ *Chronica XXIV*, 519; Bölcskey, *Váradi István*, 113; *Chronicle*, 700.

¹⁷ *Chronica XXIV*, 515; Bölcskey, *Váradi István*, 80; *Chronicle*, 696.

¹⁸ Franciscans had seventeen convents in the territory of the Golden Horde in cca. 1334 (G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell’ Oriente francescano*. Tomo II. Annali di Terra Santa. Addenda al sec. XIII, e Fonti pel sec. XIV. Con tre carte geografiche dell’ Oriente francescano de’ secoli XIII-XIV. Quaracchi presso Firenze 1913, 72, 268). Conforming to some scholars a part of the

more Franciscans from Eastern Europe. For example, the convent at the Saray had a Bohemian guardian. Not only the Franciscans' convents were ethnically diverse, but there were Armenian Christians (who had been in union with Rome)¹⁹ and schismatic Christians in Saray as well (*mulier christiana, quamvis schismatica*),²⁰ who could be the adherents of the Church of the East (i.e. the Nestorian Church), or the Armenian Apostolic Church or the Orthodox Church. Therewith, the city had a Jewish population, too.²¹

Secondly, it seems that there was a status quo in Saray between the Muslims and Christians and none of them wanted to break it. According to the Passion, the Christians feared that their churches would be destroyed if the Muslims learned about Stephen's reconversion,²² because the Christians from Saray had experiences in this field.²³ At the same time, the Muslims' cadi was also afraid of the consequences of the Franciscan's execution. Therefore, the cadi twice visited the lord of the city to consult regarding the Franciscan's fate or to ask permission to execute him. However, the lord of the city answered: "It is none of my business." That means, he did not want to get involved in the

famous Codex Cumanicus was compiled in the convent of Saint John near Saray (W. Bang, "Über die Herkunft des Codex Cumanicus," In: *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1913, 244–245; V. Drimba, "Sur la datation de la première partie du Codex Cumanicus", *Oriens* 27/28 (1981) 388–404; Gy. Györffy, "A Codex Cumanicus keletkezésének kérdéséhez," [To the history of Codex Cumanicus' birth] In: *A magyarság keleti elemei*. Budapest [1942] 1990, 220–241, see especially 229–230, 239–241; L. Ligeti, "Prolegomena to the Codex Cumanicus," in: *Codex Cumanicus*. Ed. by G. Kuun, with a Prolegomena to the Codex Cumanicus by L. Ligeti. Ed. by É. Apor. Budapest, 1981, 52. A newly converted ruler of the Golden Horde (named by Franciscan sources Iohannes) is said to have been buried also in that convent (*Chronica* XXIV, 456; *Chronicle*, 616–617).

¹⁹ "...a certain devout Armenian woman, who was a great friend of the friars and faithful to the Roman Church" (...*quaedam domina devota Armena, amica maxima fratrum et Ecclesiae Romanae fidelis*) (*Chronica* XXIV, 517; Bölcskey, *Váradí István*, 81; *Chronicle*, 698).

²⁰ Nevertheless, the son of the schismatic woman recovered from an illness at the scene of Stephen's martyrdom (*Chronica* XXIV, 523; Bölcskey, *Váradí István*, 146; *Chronicle*, 707). Cf. Winterthur, where a son of an Armenian man was healed: *In eodem loco filius unius Armeni liberatus est a quadam gravi infirmitate* (*Die Chronik*, 149).

²¹ *Chronica* XXIV, 523; Bölcskey, *Váradí István*, 146; *Chronicle*, 707. As reported by the chronicle of Winterthur, Muslims (*Sarraceni*), Latin Christians (*Latini*), Greeks (*Greci*) and Armenians (*Armeni*) lived in the city (*Die Chronik*, 149).

²² *Chronica* XXIV, 518; Bölcskey, *Váradí István*, 82; *Chronicle*, 699.

²³ In the Crimean town of Solqat (modern Старий Крым, Eski Qırım) the Christians' church and its bells were demolished during a conflict between the Christians and the Muslims (Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, 444). Various sources refer to the tensions caused by the usage of bells (Sz. Kovács, "A ferencesek és Jajlak katun," [The Franciscans and Yaylak Khatun] In: *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok* 8. Szerk. Maléth Á.–Tóber M. Szeged 2015, 155, note 31).

case.²⁴ Based on this, it appears that Özbek Khan's *yarliq* (i.e. decree of the khan) was valid at that time too.²⁵ That *yarliq* was given to the Franciscans in 1314 and granted privileges to the Friars Minor (i.e. the Franciscans) exempting them from military service and acknowledging the khan's protection of their churches and convents. This is supported by the fact that although Stephen was executed, attacks against the Christians, demolitions of their churches and convents in the city are not mentioned.

If we compare Stephen's Passion with other Franciscan accounts (such as letters), we can see some contradictions; one of them is the letter written by the Hungarian Brother Iohanca in "a Tartar camp in Bascardia" (the land of Bashkirs) in 1320. In that land, Iohanca and his English companion, William (Anglicus Willelmus) asserted in an argument with Muslims, that their religion is "empty and profane" (*eorum legem friuolam et prophanam*) and it is from the devil (*legem esse diabolicam*). The two Franciscans were imprisoned and persecuted, but the "Saracens" were afraid of the Mongols and thus they did not dare to kill the Franciscans.²⁶ In some way, the case of Paschalis de Victoria is the same. Paschalis, a Spanish Franciscan, set out for the Ulus of Chaghatay in 1333. During his travel, he stayed at Saray for one year, where he learned the Kipchak Turkic language of the Cumans and the Uyghur script. In his letter, Paschalis mentioned a Franciscan brother, namely Stephen, who was executed in the city. Furthermore, after Paschalis departed from Saray to the Ulus of Chaghatay, he was forced to stop at the border of the Ulus of Chaghatay. In a city of Muslims, in front of the mosque, he disputed with the Muslims "on theology, and about their false Alchoran and its doctrine, for five-and-twenty days". As it is stated in Paschalis' letter written in Almaliq in the August of the year 1338, the Muslims pelted him with stones and put fire to his face and his feet, plucked out his beard and so on, but he escaped alive and he could travel to Almaliq (one of the capital city of the Ulus of Chaghatay),²⁷ where, in 1339, he finally achieved his martyrdom, that he sought so very much.²⁸

²⁴ The source explains the cadi's reluctance to execute the Franciscan, being frightened by the miracles occurred with Stephen. For the first time, the lord of the city said: "Since you made him become a Saracen without consulting me, now you kill him also without asking for my advice". The second time, the lord remained away from the case because he was afraid of the curses of the "Franks". In both occasions, he emphasised that he did not want to intervene in the case (*Chronica XXIV*, 520, 521; Bölcskey, *Váradí István*, 115, 144; *Chronicle*, 702, 704).

²⁵ Bihl-Moule, *Tria nova*, 65; P. Хаутала, "Ярлык хана Узбека францисканцам Золотой Орды 1314 года: латинский текст, русский перевод и комментарии," *Золотоордынское обозрение. Golden Horde Review* 3 (5) (2014) 31–48.

²⁶ Iohanca adds that the Muslims are afraid of the Mongols because they "love the Christians but hate and persecuted the Saracens" (Bihl-Moule, *Tria nova*, 68; Bendefy, *Fontes*, 49).

²⁷ A. van den Wyngaert, *Sinica franciscana. Itinera et relationes Fratrum Minorum saeculi XIII et XIV*. Quaracchi-Firenze 1929, 501–506.

²⁸ Wyngaert, *Sinica*, 511, 527.

Thus, all of the four Franciscan friars preached against Muhammad and the doctrines of Islam. At that time, preaching against Islam²⁹ and apostasy were crimes that were usually punished with the death penalty by Islamic law.³⁰ The apostasy was often justified based on *ḥadīth*, and rarely on Qur'anic texts. In the opinion of some scholars, the early views regarding the death penalty reflect the socio-political realities of that time; they argue that the death penalty was prescribed for apostasy because that threatened the stability, unity and identity of the Muslim community.³¹ In the Middle Ages, there was a close bond between religion and ethnic identity. This connection was especially important in those territories where followers of different religions lived together. In this way, when a person converted to another religion, they became a member of another community. This meant that apostasy was not only regarded as a religious issue, but it had serious social and political consequences too. It was considered to be such a grave crime that communities reserved the most severe punishments for it.³² Blasphemy (i.e. speaking evil of sacred matters) and conversions (or reconversions) caused tensions among the involved communities.³³ Fundamentally, societies regarded both crimes as a form of treason

²⁹ In the classical doctrine, offering insult to the prophet Muḥammad is a blasphemy, incurring the death penalty for the perpetrator (R. Peters, *Crime and Punishment in Islamic Law. Theory and Practice from the Sixteenth to the Twenty-First Century*. (Themes in Islamic Law 2.) Cambridge 2005, 180.)

³⁰ The punishment for apostasy is one of the most discussed and debated issues in Islam. There are many excellent books and papers on this topic. In the classical doctrine, all the Sunni and also the Shia schools regard the apostasy a serious crime, but in most of the schools the apostate is granted a delay of three days for repentance and return to Islam, especially if the apostate was not born a Muslim. However, "if the apostasy consisted in insulting the Prophet (*sabb al-nabī*), according to most schools the apostate is not given an opportunity for repentance, but is killed immediately after the sentence" (Peters, *Crime and Punishment*, 64–65). Based on Iohanca's letter, among the Saracens there existed a "sect" known for its piety: its "brethren" were called *faqīrs* (*falsarios vocant*), they wore swords and killed those who spoke against their religion. These "brethren" did not raise objections against Christians who "commend our religion, Christ, Maria and the saints" if they do not contempt Muḥammad (Bihl-Moule, *Tria nova*, 66; Bendefy, *Fontes*, 48).

³¹ A. Saeed, "Muslim Debates on human rights and freedom of religion." In: *Human Rights in Asia*. Ed. T. W. D. Davis, B. Galligan, Cheltenham–Northampton 2011, 25–37, 28–32.

³² Cf. that parts of the statutory code compiled during the reign of Alfonso X of Castile (r. 1252–1284), conforming to which a Christian who becomes a Jew or a Moor (i.e. Muslim) deserves death (*Las Siete Partidas. Underworlds: The Dead, the Criminal, and the Marginalized (Partidas VI and VII)*. Vol. 5. Trans. S. P. Scott. Ed. R. I. Burns, S. J. Philadelphia 2001, 1435, 1439–1440.

³³ There is a good example in the work of a Persian historian, Jūzjānī, in *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* (13th century). In the city of Samarkand, a youth adherent of the Church of the East converted to Islam. The Christian community made a complaint with a high-ranking Mongol against the Muslims, because they converted the Christians'

against their social, religious and political order. Thereby, the law of apostasy was a religious and political tool to avoid those difficulties.

What could be the reason that some of them escaped from death thanks to the *yarliq* of Özbeg Khan given to the Franciscans, but others were killed? In my opinion, the explanation is in a letter written by the Franciscans in Caffa in 1323. The Franciscans explained the execution of Toqta Khan's two sons after their father's death, for they left their Christian religion in order to achieve power.³⁴ As claimed by the Franciscans, although the Mongols are "pagans" (i.e. infidels) they appreciate constancy in religion and they consider it as a sign of deception (unreliability) if someone leaves his original faith, "whether it is the Christian or another faith". Friars' conversion to Islam must not have been a frequent event. Apart from Stephen's case, I found only three cases when a Franciscan and two Dominicans gave up their Christian religion in that time.³⁵ This is corroborated by the gathering of a great multitude of people at the mosque who wanted to see "the important Christian priest" who became a Saracen (*unus magnus sacerdos Christianorum factus est Saracenus*).³⁶ It seems that the enraged Muslims dared to kill the Franciscan brother for blaming their faith because they knew that the Mongols did not have a high opinion of a man who changed his religion. Therefore, the Muslims of Saray thought they could

children. By order of the Mongol, the Christians tried to reconvert the youth with different favours, but as he remained firm to Islam he was executed. After that, the Muslim community applied to Berke Khan, who sent an army to the city and the Christians were killed and their church was demolished (*Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī. A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia including Hindustan from A.H. 194 (810 A.D.) to A.H. 858 (1260 A.D) and the Irruption of the Infidel Mughals into Islam*. By Maulānā, Minhāj-ud-Dīn, Abū-'Umar-i-'Usmān. II. Translated from Original Persian Manuscripts by H. G. Raverty. London 1881, 1289–1290; *Сборник материалов, относящихся к истории Золотой Орды*. Т. II. Извлечения из персидских сочинений, собранные В.Г. Тизенгаузенем и обработанные А.А. Ромаскевичем и С.Л. Волиным. Москва–Ленинград 1941, 18).

³⁴ The name of the khan is not mentioned in the letter, but "the lately deceased Emperor" (*imperator nuper defunctus*) could be only Toqta, who died in 1313 (Bihl-Moule, *De duabus*, 106–112; A. C. Moule, "Fourteenth-century missionary letters." *The East and the West: a quarterly review for the study of missionary problems*. Vol. 19 (1921), 357–366).

³⁵ Besides Stephen, there were one Franciscan and two Dominicans who converted to Islam at that time. The two Dominicans were missionaries without a doubt in the territory of the Golden Horde, and the Franciscan Jacobus de Pistorio probably was also active there (*Jean XXII (1316–1334). Lettres communes analysées d'après les registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican* par G. Mollat. Vol. 13, Paris 1933, 174, no. 63644, 193, no. 63892). O. Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici*. Tom. XV. (1305–1335) Coloniae Agrippinae 1691, 459, no. 44). It is possible that Winterthur reports one of the two Dominicans' conversion just after Stephen's martyrdom (*Die Chronik*, 149–150).

³⁶ *Chronica XXIV*, 517; Bölcskey, *Váradi István*, 81; *Chronicle*, 697.

go unpunished or without serious punishment because of the execution of Stephen.

The third point is that, as stated in Stephen's Passion, "The wife of the emperor of the Tartars, who was the daughter of the emperor of the Greeks, took pity on the friar when she heard what had befallen him, and full of compassion, sent him food and drink."³⁷ Although the name of the wife was not mentioned in the source, it can be identified as Bayalün, the third wife of Özbek Khan.³⁸ She was in fact the illegitimate daughter of the Byzantine emperor Andronikos Palaiologos II (r. 1282–1332).³⁹ In his itinerary, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentioned that the wife of Özbek asked permission from her husband for travelling home to see her father and to give birth to her child. Özbek Khan was asked by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa whether he could accompany the khatun. Since Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentioned only that they departed on the 10th day of the month Shawwāl in the itinerary,⁴⁰ the beginning of their travel to Constantinople is dated on 5th July in 1332⁴¹ or 22nd June in 1334.⁴² If the sentence of Stephen's Passion, which concerned the khatun, rests on an eyewitness' account, then we have another evidence, that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and Bayalün khatun could not start to Constantinople before the summer of 1334.

Finally, I would like to turn to the knowledge of the author on Islam. He did not know too much, but the information given by him is mostly appropriate. Muslims appeared in the sources as Saracens. The author knew that Jesus was accepted as a prophet in Islam, but he was not considered godly. He also knew the *Shahāda* (i.e. the Testimony), namely "There is no god but God. Muhammad is the messenger of God." This is proved by the sentence in which we can read "I truly believe that there is only one God and that Mohammed is his prophet." The *cadi* is also mentioned in the Passion, but the writer had no precise information regarding his function, because he states that the *cadi* "gov-

³⁷ *Chronica XXIV*, 519–520; Bölcskey, *Váradi István*, 114; *Chronicle*, 701.

³⁸ *The Travels of Ibn Battuta, AD 1325–1354*. Vol. II. Trans. with revisions and notes from the Arabic text ed. by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti by H. A. R. Gibb. Cambridge 1962, 488; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages*. II. De La Mecque aux steppes russes. Trad. de l'arabe de C. Defremery et B.R. Sanguinetti (1858). Introduction et notes de S. Yérasimos. Paris 1982, 185.

³⁹ The emperor married his illegitimate daughter Maria to Toqta Khan in 1297 or 1299 (Georges Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*. III. Livres VII–IX. Éd., Trad. franç. et notes par A. Failler (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 24/3.) Paris 1999, 294–295) and after his death she became the wife of Özbek Khan (*Сборник материалов, относящихся к истории Золотой Орды*. Vol. I: Извлечения из сочинений арабских. Собранные В. Тизенгаузен. Санктпетербург 1884, 316, 323).

⁴⁰ *The Travels*, 498.

⁴¹ *The Travels*, 498, 528, 531.

⁴² Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages*, 195. R. E. Dunn: *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta. A Muslim Traveler of the 14th Century*. Updated with a 2012 preface. Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 2012, 170.

erns the Saracens with the same authority a Bishop has for us.”⁴³ Furthermore, he knew about the importance of Friday and mentioned a great Muslim feast called *Mereth* (*Meret*, *Merelth*), which was on the 15th of April.⁴⁴ I attempted to identify the feast. If we convert the date from the Christian calendar to the Islamic Hijri era, it transpires that the feast should be on 9th of Sha‘bān month of the year 734 A.H. However, there is only one important holiday in Sha‘bān which is on the 15th day of the month and that holiday was on 21th of April in 1334. On the 15th of Sha‘bān, there is *Shab-i barāt* (i.e. Night of Salvation or Mid-Sha‘bān).⁴⁵ The Persian word *barāt* might have been transformed to *Meret*.⁴⁶ The chronicler’s source probably remembered that in those days the Muslim holiday (*Laylat al-Bara‘at*), in contrast with the source, did not last four days.

Finally, there is a tavern in Stephen’s Passion. In that tavern was “produced and sold a certain drink made of water and honey”, called mead (*medone*). When Stephen and the Muslims passed in front of the tavern on the way to the place of execution, a certain vagabond (*trutanus*) amputated Stephen’s ear in the hope for more mead. This movement was put in the Passion because the amputated ear was thrown in the fire but did not burn and suddenly flew in the direction of some Christians who received it and gave it to the Franciscans, perhaps as a relic.⁴⁷

In conclusion, Stephen’s Passio seems to be a rather naive story which does not contain too much useful historical information. However, if we read it

⁴³ *Chronica* XXIV, 516; Bölcskey, *Váradí István*, 81; *Chronicle*, 697. The misunderstanding of the cadí’s function reappears almost verbatim several times in the *Chronicle* (*Chronica* XXIV, 413, 474, 534, 556, 599; *Chronicle*, 555, 639, 720, 749, 810).

⁴⁴ *Chronica* XXIV, 516; Bölcskey, *Váradí István*, 81; *Chronicle*, 697.

⁴⁵ According to a tradition, in the middle night of Sha‘bān Allah forgives all His creatures, except a polytheist or one having malice (*Mishkat al-Masabih* by Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh Khafīb al-Tibrizī. English trans. with explanatory notes by J. Robson. Lahore 1970, 272–273).

⁴⁶ The feast is named *berat kendili* in Turkish. The initial *b-* can change to *m-* in many Turkic languages, mostly if there is another nasal consonant in the word, for example Persian *bayrām* ‘a fest’ is *mayram* in Kirghiz, *méyram* in Kazakh (G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford 1972, 308). However, the change may have happened even if there is no nasal consonant in the word, see Arabic *bakra* ‘pulley, block’ > Ottoman *mak(a)ra* (M. Stachowski, “On the Consonant Adaptation of Arabic (and some Persian) Loan-Words in an Ottoman Turkish Dictionary by Arcangelo Carradori (1650).” *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis* 129 supplementum. 2012, 372–381; for more examples see M. Stachowski, “Turkologische Anmerkungen zum altaischen etymologischen Wörterbuch.” *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* Vol. 10. Kraków 2005, 227–246, at 234–235). I would like to thank Zsuzsanna Olach, Mihály Dobrovits and István Zimonyi for their help on linguistic matters.

⁴⁷ Cf. the miraculous healings attributed to the ear in Winterthur (*Die Chronic*, 149).

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with a critical eye, we can discover a lot of information that can complete our knowledge about the Golden Horde, the Franciscans' working on that territory, their knowledge of Islam, and their relationship with other Christian communities.

Historical Dynamics and Succession of Inner Asian Nomadic Empires¹

NIKOLAY N. KRADIN



The constant and variable elements of the formation of medieval nomadic empires are the focus of the study. The basic economic system of pastoral nomads including the species composition of the herd and routes of migrations remained stable. There are several characteristics of the social-political organisation of nomadic empires which played a decisive role: tribal and supratribal genealogical loyalties, principle of administrative division of the empire; military-hierarchical character nomadic organisation; postal service; specific system of power succession. These elements were also exposed to change. However, several dynamic elements such as technology of transport, weapon and military arts, urbanisation, writing system, and world religions were due to the contacts with the neighbouring agricultural world.

One of the important and permanently discussed questions in the nomadology is a problem of the historical dynamics and succession of the ancient and medieval nomadic empires. In the Soviet period, this question was considered in a majority of papers from the Marxist perspective.² Some researchers were of the opinion that the ancient nomads have stayed at a primitive or slaver stage of society, while the medieval nomads at a feudal one. It was a curious thought because the great empires of nomads (Khitan, Mongols and so on) were interpreted as the early feudal societies whereas the nomads of the Early Modern time (Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Turkmen) were considered as the societies of the developed feudalism. The next stage of discussion was related to the concepts of pre-class pastoral society³ and early nomadic state.⁴ These approaches referred

¹ This study was supported by the Russian Foundation of Humanities grant # 15-21-03001a(m).

² For further information, see: E. Gellner, *State and Society in Soviet Thought*. Oxford 1988; N. N. Kradin, *Kochevye obshchestva*. Vladivostok 1992; Ibid. *Nomads of Inner Asia in Transition*. Moscow 2014.

³ G. E. Markov, "Die Wirtschaftliche und Gesellschaftliche Struktur der Nomadenviehzüchter-Völker Asiens," In: *Abhandlungen und Berichte des Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde zu Dresden* 31 (1970), 55–77; Ibid. *Kochevniki Azii*. Moscow 1976.

to the cyclical nature of the social processes in the nomadic societies and emphasised the important structural differences between them and the settled civilisations. Subsequently, these ideas were developed in the theories of the "nomadic civilisation"⁵ and a special pathway of the social evolution of nomadic empires.⁶

It is not correct to deny the dynamics of nomadic societies. Some aspects of the life-sustaining activity of the nomadic societies have suffered the profound changes from the prehistoric times while the others remained nearly unchanged. The objective of this article is to show a nature of dynamics of different economic, social and cultural processes and institutions in the ancient and medieval nomadic empires of Inner Asia. The basis of the economy of the nomadic societies – pastoralism – has only changed slightly since the formation of nomadism. According to the archaeological data and reports of the chroniclers and travellers (from Sima Qian to F.W. Radloff), the species composition of the herd as well as routes of migrations and their length remained practically unchanged from the prehistoric times.

The Chinese chronicles describe the Xiongnu way of life. The great Chinese historian Sima Qian writes about the northern neighbours very early in his chapter 110: "The animals they raise consist mainly of horses, cows and sheep [...] The little boys start out by learning to ride sheep and shoot birds and rats with a bow and arrow, and when they get a little older they shoot foxes and hares, which are used for food. Thus all the young men are able to use a bow and act as armed cavalry. It is their custom to herd their flocks in times of peace and make their living by hunting, but in periods of crisis they take up arms and go off on plundering and marauding expeditions."⁷ Strangely enough, similar circumstances have been observed one and a half millenniums later by the Venetian merchant Marco Polo.⁸ Comparable descriptions concerning nomads are visible in the studies from the 19th to the early 20th century.⁹

⁴ A. M. Khazanov, *Sotsial'naiia istoriia skifov*. Moscow 1975; Ibid. "The Early State among the Scythians," In: *The Early State*, ed. H. J. M. Claessen, P. Skalnik, The Hague 1978, 425–439; Ibid. "The early state among the Eurasian nomads," In: *The Study of the State*, ed. H. J. M. Claessen, P. Skalnik, The Hague 1981, 156–173; Ibid. *Nomads and the Outside World*. Cambridge 1984.

⁵ N. E., Masanov, *Kochevaia civilizatsiia kazakhov*. Moscow–Almaty 1995.

⁶ Kradin, *Kochevye obshchestva*; Ibid. "Nomadic Empires in Evolutionary Perspective," In: *Alternatives of Social Evolution*, ed. N. N. Kradin, A. V. Korotayev, D. M. Bondarenko, V. de Munck, P. K. Wason, Vladivostok 2000; etc.

⁷ *Records of the Great Historian: Han Dynasty II*. By Sima Qian. Transl. Burton Watson. Hong Kong–New York 1993, 129; cf. *Zhongyang minzu xueyuan yanjiubu*, [Collected data about the peoples of the different historical periods] Vol. 1. Beijing 1958, 3, 31; *Materialy po istorii siunnu*. Vol. 1., trans. V. S. Taskin, Moscow 1968, 34, 36.

⁸ *The Travels of Marco Polo*, trans. M. Komroff, New York 2001, 76–78.

⁹ N. M. Przheval'skii, *Mongoliia i strana tangutov*. Vol. 1. Sankt-Petersburg 1875, 141; I. M. Maisky, *Sovremennaiia Mongolia*. Irkutsk 1921, 33–35; F. W. Radloff, *Iz Sibiri*. Moscow 1889, 130, 153–162, 168, 260, 335.

In the same way, the nomads were hunters and practiced agriculture and gathering. Of particular importance was the battue which was a fine way of acquisition of military skills.¹⁰ The arable farming was known even to the Xiongnu.¹¹ The agriculture was, to a greater or lesser degree, practiced by the latter nomads.¹² As a rule, in the periods of existence of great empires, the efforts were made to resettle the farmers into the arid zones with the aim of providing the nomads with necessary foodstuffs.¹³ As for the forcible sedenterisation of the nomads, such a policy usually proved to be ineffective. Any radical policy of the agricultural economy intensification in the environment of cattle-farmers would be effective only so long as this system was supported by the regime.¹⁴

Beginning with the late antiquity, the handicraft among the nomads was only used for domestic purposes. This is confirmed by the numerous evidences of the written sources from Xiongnu and Wuhuan to the modern times.¹⁵ At the same time, it would be incorrect to deny the technological development. If the everyday implements of the nomads of the Xiongnu times are compared with those of the later-medieval period, then the dynamics is evident (substitution of ceramics by metal kitchens, emergence of the hard saddle, improvement of harness etc.). However, it is not all the result of developing own nomadic handicraft but also a consequence of the general diffusion of the technological innovations.

Large masses of craftsmen have concentrated in the special settlements and towns of nomadic empires. One can trace the gradual cumulative expansion in the number of sedentary settlements and sites on the territory of Mongolia beginning from late prehistory.¹⁶ The first settlements and sites on the territory of Mongolia were established in the era of the Xiongnu Empire.¹⁷ According to

¹⁰ S. G. Zhambalova, *Traditsionnaia okhota buriat*. Novosibirsk 1991.

¹¹ D. Eisma, "Agriculture on the Mongolian Steppe," *Silk Road* 10 (2012), 123–135.

¹² Khazanov, *Sotsial'naiia istoriia skifov*, 11–12, 117, 150–151; G. E. Markov, *Kochevniki Azii*, 159, 162–167, 209–210, 251–216; N. E. Masanov, *Kochevaia civilizatsiia kazakhov*, 73–76 etc.

¹³ N. N. Kradin, "Archaeology of Deportation: Eurasian Steppe Example," In: *Central Eurasia in the Middle Ages. Studies in Honour of Peter B. Golden*. ed. O. Karatay, I. Zimonyi, Wiesbaden 2016, 209–219.

¹⁴ G. E. Markov, *Kochevniki Azii*, 139–140, 163, 165, 143–244; A. M. Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*. Cambridge–New York 1984, 83–84.

¹⁵ N. M. Przeval'skii, *Op. Cit.*, 40; I. M. Maisky, *Op. Cit.*, 190, 220; N. N. Kradin, "Heterarchy and Hierarchy Among the Ancient Mongolian Nomads", *Social Evolution & History* 10/1 (2011), 194.

¹⁶ D. Waugh, "Nomads and Settlement: New Perspectives in the Archaeology of Mongolia," *Silk Road* 8 (2010), 97–124; N. N. Kradin, "Goroda v srednevekovykh kochevykh imperiakh mongolskikh stepei," *Sredine veka* 72:1-2 (2011), 330–351.

¹⁷ T. Hayashi, "Agriculture and Settlements in the Hsiung-nu," *Bulletin of the Ancient Orient Museum* 6 (1984), 51–92 S. V. Danilov, *Goroda v kochevykh obshchestvakh Centralnoi Azii*. Ulan-Ude 2004.

the chronicles, Rouran was the capital.¹⁸ Turks have preached a doctrine of anti-urbanism. Of the Uighur and Khitan times, the cumulative expansion of town-building on the territory of Mongolia is a characteristic.¹⁹ A difference of the urbanisation processes in the Khitan society was caused by the fact that a large part of the population of the Liao Empire was formed by conquered farmers.²⁰ These tendencies evolved in the period of the Mongolian Empire. Karakorum became a true megalopolis – a city where the alliance of different cultural traditions of the East and West occurred.²¹ However, a blossom of building of cities and monasteries fell on the times when Mongols were subjects of the Chin Empire.²²

The biggest changes in the steppe environment were related to arms and military arts. The appearance of the wooden saddle in the late antiquity and of the stirrup in the 4th-5th centuries (Northern Korea?) has contributed to a shift in the role of cavalry. The light archers have formed the basis of the troops of ancient nomads and the basic tactics of nomads consisted in manoeuvrability and shooting up an enemy at a distance. In the armies of the agrarian societies, the cavalry was in fact of secondary importance. With the appearance of heavy cavalry, the attack of cavaliers with spears by the tight formation became the major tactical manoeuvre. Rouran-Avars have furnished the irons and saddle to Europe and this has provided them the advantage over the local people. In the period of the First Turkic Khaganate, the nomads established new tactical-operational weapons – heavy cavalry armed with long spears. In the 9th-10th

¹⁸ N. N. Kradin, "From Tribal Confederation to Empire: the Evolution of the Rouran Society," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 58 (2005), 149–169.

¹⁹ A. L. Ivliev, "Gorodishcha kidanei," In: *Materialy po drevnei i srednevekovoy arkheologii yuga Dalnego Vostoka SSSR i smeznykh territorii*. ed. V. D. Lenkov, Vladivostok 1981, 120–133; A. Ochir–A. EnkhTUR–L. Erdenebold *Khar bukh balgas ba tuul golyn sav dakh hyatany yeyn khot, suuringuud*. Ulaanbaatar 2005; J. Bemmman–B. Ahrens–C. Grutzner–R. Klinger–N. Klitzsch–F. Lehmann–S. Linzen–L. Munkhbayar–G. Nomguunsuren–M. Oczipka–H. Piezonka–B. Schutt–S. Solongo, "Geoarchaeology in the Steppe. First results of the multidisciplinary Mongolian-German survey project in the Orkhon valley, Central Mongolia," *Arkheologiiin sudlaal* 30 (2011), 69–97.

²⁰ N. N. Kradin–A. L. Ivliev, "The Downfall of the Bohai state and the ethnic structure of the Kitan city of Chintolgoi balgas, Mongolia," In: *Current Archaeological Research in Mongolia. Papers from the First International Conference on "Archaeological Research in Mongolia" held in Ulaanbaatar, August 19th–23rd, 2007*. ed. J. Bemmman, H. Parzinger, E. Pohl, D. Tseveendorzh, Bonn 2009, 461–475; Idem. *Istoriia kidanskoi imperii Liao (907–1125)*. [History of Khitans Empire Liao (907 – 1125)] Moscow 2014.

²¹ *Drevnemongolskie goroda*. Ed. S. V. Kiselev, Moscow 1965; *Mongolian-German Karakorum Expedition*. Vol. 1: Excavations in the Craftsmen Quarter at the Main Road. ed. J. Bemmman, U. Erdenebat, E. Pohl, Wiesbaden 2010.

²² V. N. Tkachev, *Istoriia mongolskoi arkhitektury*. Moscow 2009.

centuries, the Seljuks achieved perfection in sabre mastering. Finally, the Mongolian bow was the most forceful bow of the Middle Ages.²³

The Mongols subsequently perfectly mastered the siege tactics. They adopted the advanced military technologies; the construction of siege towers including those with catapults, as well as different throwers shooting with arrows, stones and propellant powders, was undertaken in order to make powerful artillery preparation before the attack, to raise the dams for flooding of the enemy's city and to burrow the saps under the walls of fort royals. For these purposes, the nomads attracted the experts from the conquered agricultural countries.²⁴

The history of the familiarity of the Inner Asia nomads with the writing system has passed some stages. The ancient nomads (Xiongnu and others) had no writing system on their own. For maintenance of diplomatic correspondence, they have employed services of Chinese scribes.²⁵ The Turks were the first to use the runic writing system. The memorial inscriptions are well-known, in which different aspects of life of the nomads as well as their ideological ideas are reflected.²⁶ In the times of Uighurs, the Old Uighur written language was also used apart from the runic one. However, in the diplomatic correspondence with China, Chinese language and people familiar with hieroglyphics were used as before.²⁷ The Khitan, conquering North China, met with another practice. For the management of subjugated territories, they used the Chinese language. In addition, they have created their own script (small and large) that is known mostly on the epitaphs.²⁸

In the period preceding the Chinggis Khan's Empire, the elite of some Mongolian chiefdoms was familiar with the Uighur writing system. After the overthrow of the Naimans, Chinggis told them to teach his children the Uighur letters. Furthermore, Mongols started to use the Uighur alphabet in order to write texts in Mongolian; their own writing system was subsequently created on this basis. Capturing the great territories of North China, the Mongols have paid a considerable attention to the training of competent interpreters for the management of tributary areas. In 1269, under Khubilai, the Tibetan lama Phags-pa invented the so-called Square script. It had only a short history and, upon the return of Mongols to the steppe after the downfall of the Yuan dynasty, the nomads again turned to the Uighur script. This writing system was also used in the Golden Horde where the Mongolian elite provided the *yarlyks*

²³ S. A. Nefedov, *Voina i obshchestvo. Faktorny analiz istoricheskogo protsessa*. Moscow 2008.

²⁴ T. Allsen, 2002. "The Circulation of Military Technology in the Mongolian Empire," In: *Warfare in Inner Asian History (500-1800)*, ed. N. Di Cosmo, Cambridge 2002, 265-293.

²⁵ N. N. Kradin, *Imperiia Hunnu*, 2nd ed. Moscow 2002, 84-85.

²⁶ S. G. Klyashtornyj, *Old Turkic Runic Texts and History of Eurasian Steppe*. Bucuresti-Braila 2008.

²⁷ Ibidem.

²⁸ D. Kane, *The Kitan Language and Script*. Leiden-Boston 2009.

written in Mongolian using the letters of the Uighur alphabet.²⁹ In the 13th-14th centuries, several attempts of the ancient Mongolian script unification were undertaken.³⁰

The question of the similarity and succession of the social-political organisation of nomadic empires occupies a highly important place. This problem was thoroughly interpreted in the papers by Vadim Trepavlov;³¹ however, in virtue of the unpopularity of diffusion ideas at that time, it did not go any further. Only a few years ago, Daniel Roger again drew attention to this factor.³² In terms of the dynamics of social and political organisation, one can suggest that it has slightly changed at the root since the Xiongnu times. The following features were characteristic of all nomadic empires: (1) multi-stage hierarchical character of the social organisation riddled at all levels with tribal and supra-tribal genealogical loyalties; (2) dual (in wings) or threefold (in wings and centre) principle of administrative division of the empire; (3) military-hierarchical character organisation of nomads, most commonly, on the decimal principle, which coexisted in parallel with the tribal structure; (4) postal (*yam*) service as a specific way of organisation of the administrative infrastructure; (5) specific system of power succession (empire is a heritage of all having khan's blood, institution of co-government, *quriltai*); 6) distant hybrid war and exploitation as a particular character of relations with the agricultural world.³³

Nevertheless, there was a certain variability of each of the identified indicators. For example, the threefold structure was characteristic of Xiongnu in the period of its establishment; it later transformed into the wing structure.³⁴ There is some evidence of the existence of the postal "governmental" communication system even in the Xiongnu polity but it flourished most in the Mongolian empire (*yam*). In recent times, the usability of the concept "tribal organisation", "tribe" and "chiefdom" in respect of the ancient and medieval nomads has been questioned. This is because, in D. Sneath' opinion, the social-political or-

²⁹ A. Mostaert-F. Cleaves, *Les Lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkhans Aryun et Oljeitu a Philippe le Bel* (Harvard-Yenching Institute Scripta Mongolica Monograph Series). Cambridge 1962; L. Ligeti, *Monuments en écriture 'phags-pa. Pièces de chancellerie en transcription chinoise* (Monumenta linguae Mongolicae collecta III). Budapest 1972; A. P. Grigoryev, *Mongolskaia diplomatika XIII – XIV veka*. Leningrad 1978; I. T. Zograph, *Mongolsko-kitaiskaia interferentsiia: yazyk mongolskoi kantseliarii v Kitae*. Moscow 1984.

³⁰ D. Kara, *Knigi mongolskikh kochevnikov*. Moscow 1972.

³¹ V. V. Trepavlov, *Gosudarstvennyi stroi mongol'skoi imperii: problema istoricheskoi preemstvennosti*. Moscow 1993.

³² D. Rogers, "The Contingencies of State Formation in Eastern Inner Asia," *Asian Perspectives* 46 (2007), 249–274.

³³ N. N. Kradin, *Nomadic Empires*; Ibid., "Nomadic Empires in Inner Asia," In: *Complexity of Interaction Along the Eurasian Steppe Zone in the First Millennium CE*, ed. J. Bemmann, M. Schmauder, Bonn 2015, 11–48.

³⁴ N. N. Kradin, *Imperiia Khunnu*.

ganisation of Mongols in the modern period was based on the different structural principles.³⁵

An interesting dynamic is traced in regard to the perception by nomads of the world religions.³⁶ The ancient and medieval nomads of the Inner Asia were generally shamanists and offered worship to the Eternal Sky (*Tenggeri*). It is confirmed by information of written sources and runic inscriptions of the ancient Turks.³⁷ Nevertheless, there are traces of penetration of different religions into the steppe. Hence, the Uighur elite accepted the Manicheanism. Later on, the Nestorianism became known in the steppe. Mongols have stimulated the religious diversity.³⁸ Over time Mongols in the Middle East, Central Asia and Golden Horde converted to Islam – the religion of fighters and merchants.³⁹ In Mongolia, Buddhism expanded from the end of the 14th century. It became an important factor of reconciliation of nomads – a resolution for good for the Chinese steppe problem.⁴⁰

To summarise, on the one hand, some aspects of the life-sustaining activity of nomads were determined by the environmental conditions, such as cattle breeding or social organisation. On the other hand, it is evident that certain dynamics in other components of culture of the steppe societies (means and technology of transport, weapon and military arts, urbanisation, writing system etc.) were defined by different external and internal factors. Finally, many cultural impulses were accepted from the agricultural world by way of diffusion or assimilation (a number of technologies, world religions etc.).

³⁵ D. Sneath, *The Headless State: Aristocratic Orders, Kinship Society, and Misrepresentations of Nomadic Inner Asia*. New York 2007; Ibid., "Ayimag, uymaq and baylik: Re-examining Notions of the Nomadic Tribe and State," In: *Nomad Aristocrats in a World of Empires*, ed. J. Paul, Wiesbaden 2013, 161–185; N. N. Kradin–T. D. Skrynnikova, "Stateless Head': Notes on Revisionism in the Studies of Nomadic Societies," *Ab Imperio* 4 (2009), 117–128.

³⁶ A. M. Khazanov, "The spread of world religions in medieval nomadic societies of the Eurasian steppes," In: *Nomadic diplomacy, destruction and religion from the Pacific to the Adriatic* (Toronto Studies in Central and Inner Asia, Vol.1), ed. M. Gervers, W. Schlepp, Toronto 1994, 11–33.

³⁷ P. B. Golden, "Imperial Ideology and the Sources of Political Unity amongst the Pre-Cinggisid Nomads of Western Eurasia," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 2 (1982), 37–76.

³⁸ I. de Rachewiltz, "The Ideological Foundations of Chingis Khan's Empire," *Papers on Far Eastern History* 7 (1973), 21–36; K. Sagaster, "Herrschaftsideologie und Friedensgedanke bei den Mongolen," *Central Asiatic Journal* 17 (1973), 223–242; J.-P. Roux, *La religion des Turcs et des Mongols*. Paris 1984.

³⁹ J. Fletcher, "The Mongols: ecological and social perspectives," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 46 (1986), 11–50.

⁴⁰ K. Kollmar-Paulenz, *Die Mythologie des tibetischen und mongolischen Buddhismus*. Stuttgart 2002; T. May, "Mongoly i mirovye religii v XII veke," In: *Mongolskaia imperiia i kochevoi mir*, ed. B. V. Bazarov, N. N. Kradin, T. D. Skrynnikova, Ulan-Ude 2004, 424–443.

*Fusion of Cultures in Tenth-Century Rus Rituals*¹

CSETE KATONA



It is a well-established thesis that Vikings in the East – labelled as Rus' in the contemporary sources – developed an identity of their own due to their merge with the local population of Eastern Europe. The interaction of these Scandinavians with the Slavic inhabitants of the region has long been noted; however less attention was paid to the relationship between Rus' and Eastern steppe nomadic tribes. This study aims to explore Rus-nomadic relationships from a cultural perspective by examining recorded Rus ritual traditions as reflections of an identity which contains not just Scandinavian or Slavic but also steppe nomadic elements. It will be argued that depending on the location of each group of Rus', their ritual traditions indicate different cultural impacts; let it be Slavic, Byzantine or even nomadic. By adapting to the local circumstances, Rus' could be, therefore, very diverse as their different groups were exposed to the mentioned influences to a varying degree.

Scandinavians, who had already begun to penetrate Eastern Europe via the waterways as early as the 8th century, were often referred to as Rus' in contemporary Latin, Arabic, Slavic and Byzantine sources. The cultural interactions between these Scandinavian intruders and the Slavs of Eastern Europe have been extensively studied; however, less attention has been given to their relationship with steppe nomadic groups, such as the various steppe-nomadic tribes that were also dwelling along the River Dnieper and the Volga, where the Rus merchants appeared with their goods. Based on the accounts of Arabic and Persian travellers, the Icelandic historian Thorir Jonson Hraundal has recently suggested that, on a cultural level, a differentiation should be made between a "Dnieper" and a "Volga" Rus community, since the Rus' along the Dnieper region were more integrated into the Slavic speaking population, whilst those along the Volga had dealt more closely with the local nomadic tribes. Hraundal illustrates the differences through the examination of a Rus ritual tradition as it was recorded by the Arab traveller, Ibn Fadlan, which con-

¹ This article was supported by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – University of Debrecen 'Lendület' Research Group 'Hungary in Medieval Europe'.

tains ritual elements borrowed from Turkic culture rather than Slavic.² Following up on this path, it will be postulated that two other Rus rituals also show potential Turkic elements, suggesting that the Turkic cultural impact might not have been confined solely to the areas which Arabic and Persian authors usually addressed, but was also influential, albeit to a lesser degree, on the Kievan Rus', where Scandinavian, Slavic and Turkic cultural elements likely manifested as a fusion. The parallels of recorded tenth-century Rus rituals suggest that the originally Scandinavian or Slavic practices have been greatly modified and distorted over time. As the Rus' began to merge with the local population of Eastern Europe, a new spiritual perception arose which could hardly be classified as distinctively Scandinavian or Slavic, especially if we add to this the regional variations that existed in the religious beliefs of both ethnic groups.³ While it is hard to identify the exact effect of this cultural mix on the religious perceptions of the pagan Rus' in general, this paper will propose that variants of the same practices might have existed in the Volga-Dnieper region. It will also attempt to explain the outstanding adaptability that the Rus' demonstrated in absorbing Slavic and Turkic elements into their ritual traditions.

Descriptions of early Rus rituals are sparse in our sources; even the few that are available are subject to debate regarding whether they depict a tradition more akin to Slavic or to Scandinavian culture. These include accounts of Rus' sacrifices and a funeral along the River Volga (by Ibn Fadlan), the cremation of hostages and dead warriors undertaken by the army of Prince Sviatoslav at the Battle of Dorostolon, and lastly, the sacrifices performed by Rus merchants on the island of Saint Gregory on their way to Constantinople.⁴ None of these

² T. J. Hraundal, "Integration and Disintegration: the 'Norse' in Descriptions of the Early Rus." In: *Norman Tradition and Transcultural Heritage. Exchange of Cultures in the 'Norman' Peripheries of Medieval Europe*, ed. S. Burkhardt, T. Foerster, Burlington 2013, 279–293; Idem, *The Rus in the Arabic sources: Cultural Contacts and Identity*. PhD dissertation, Centre for Medieval Studies, Bergen 2013; Idem, "New Perspectives on Eastern Vikings/Rus in Arabic Sources." *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 10 (2014), 65–97.

³ A. Nordberg, "Continuity, Change and Regional Variation in Old Norse Religion," In: *More than Mythology. Narratives, Ritual Practices and Regional Distribution in Pre-Christian Scandinavian Religions*, ed. C. Raudvere, J. P. Schjødt, Lund 2012, 119–51.; L. Slupecki, "Slavic religion," In: *The Handbook of Religions in Ancient Europe*, ed. L. B. Christensen, O. Hammer, D. A. Warburton, Durham 2013, 339–58.

⁴ On the ethnic-religious background of the Rus in Ibn Fadlan's description, see: J. E. Montgomery, "Ibn Fadlān and the Rūsiyyah." *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 3 (2000), 1–25.; W. Duczko, *Viking Rus. Studies on the presence of Scandinavians in Eastern Europe*. The Northern World Series 12, Leiden–Boston 2004, 138; regarding the sacrifice of Saint Gregory island as Scandinavian, see: J. Simpson, *Everyday life in the Viking Age*. London–New York 1967, 180; for a more nuanced view: D. Obolensky, "The Byzantine Sources on the Scandinavians in Eastern Europe," In: *The Byzantine Inheritance of Eastern Europe*. ed. D. Obolensky, London 1982, 158; taking the Dorostolon and Saint Gregory island sacrifices as pure Slavic, see: E. R. Luján,

rituals were recorded by the Rus' themselves but were instead documented by outsiders: Ibn Fadlan was an Arab, while the authors of the latter two rituals were Byzantines: Leo the Deacon, and possibly someone from the court of the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (945–959). This naturally presents obstacles when one tries to reconstruct Pre-Christian practices, since the authors, not being natives of the culture they describe, could have misunderstood and misinterpreted the scene, or perhaps simply adjusted the information to fit the terminology of their own religious world (Ibn Fadlan, for instance, used an interpreter). However, parallels from different sources might hint at the cultural background of the different practices, strengthening the relative authenticity of the three sources. All three rituals occurred at roughly the same period in history, in a 50-year phase (922–971), and while they partly reflect uniformity, they also contain considerable differences, which might suggest that we are dealing with variants of rituals—including rites and elements adopted from diverse cultural backgrounds. These rituals likely represent a tradition which borrowed both physical and mental elements from not only Scandinavian and Slavic, but also Turkic cultures.

The latter is a dangerously broad term, as the Turkic tribes could have been just as different from each other as they were from the Vikings of the North or the miscellaneous groups of Rus' operating in the area. In addition, Turkic cultures were also subject to change, and were exposed to Muslim and, in certain cases, Jewish or Byzantine influences. What we find in Eastern Europe at this point is a cultural melting pot, and thus clear parallels of certain practices from specified tribes are almost impossible to discern. Bearing these difficulties in mind, the following discussion only aims to pinpoint certain tendencies rather than clear-cut cultural transfers.

The best-known and most thoroughly researched account of Rus rituals was written by Ibn Fadlan, an Arab traveller and diplomat, who took a mission in 922 from the Abbasid Caliphate to the land of the Volga Bulgars, where he witnessed various rituals of the people called Rus'.⁵ The rituals he observed could be roughly summarised as follows: upon their arrival to the Volga, the Rus' sacrifice food and drinks to wooden idols, one idol being set up on a pole and representing a main deity, with the others personifying smaller deities. The reason for the sacrifice is to assure successful trading with future merchants. Upon finishing commercial business, they honour the idols with another offering of sheep or cows, and tie the heads of the slaughtered animals to the wooden poles. In addition, Ibn Fadlan describes the funerary ritual of an eminent Rus chieftain. After his death, the body of the chieftain is kept in a tent for ten days, while his fitting funerary garments are prepared. The Rus burying

"Procopius De bello Gothico III 38. 17–23.: a description of ritual pagan Slavic slayings?" *Studia Mythologica Slavica* 11 (2008), 105–112.

⁵ For a list of editions and general works, see: M. Canard, "Ibn Fadlān," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Vol. 3., ed. B. Lewis, V. L. Ménage, Ch. Pellat, J. Schacht, London 1971, 759.

community then fill up a boat with riches – treasures, weapons, jewellery, food and drink – and sacrifice animals (horses, cows, a dog, a cock and a hen) together with a slave girl who volunteered to follow her master into a place known as “Paradise”. The girl is used sexually by the followers or relatives of the chieftain and, after being lifted between a door-frame multiple times, is stabbed by a woman called the “Angel of Death”, who also recites a text about the re-union of family members in the afterlife. After loading the ship up with possessions, gifts, sacrificial animals and the girl’s body, the Rus’ finally cremate the boat on the water.⁶

The accounts of Arabic travellers often served state purposes and consequently are remarkable historical sources regarding the period in question. Ibn Fadlan’s report is, quite simply, the best written record we possess about early Rus funerary rituals, and it has been taken as an authentic source describing Scandinavian habits, inasmuch as its details were used to illuminate rituals in even in Scandinavia.⁷ It is true that many elements of the ritual seem to have parallels with Scandinavian habits; the ship, the cremation, the grave goods (especially weapons), the animal and human sacrifices.

However, it has long been acknowledged that some of the details of the ritual cannot be matched with any known Scandinavian examples, but should be sought in a Volga Turkic or Khazar cultural milieu.⁸ Physical evidence pointing towards the East includes the basil leaves used to embalm the dead,⁹ and the buttons (used on the silk shirt) of the Rus chieftain,¹⁰ none of which could have been brought from Scandinavia. Besides the practicalities, certain rites were not fully compatible with their Scandinavian counterparts. For instance, it is problematic to correlate, as some have attempted, the crone known as “Angel of Death” with the Valkyries of Norse mythology, or the afterlife called “Paradise” with Valhalla, the hall of dead warriors where women were not even

⁶ I consulted the following translations of the work; English: Montgomery, *Ibn Fadlan and Rusiyyah*; Norwegian: H. Birkeland, *Nordens historie i middelalderen etter arabiske kilder*. Oslo 1954, 17–24.

⁷ J. P. Schjødt, “Ibn Fadlan’s account of a Rus funeral: To what degree does it reflect Nordic myths?” In: *Reflections on Old Norse Myths*, ed. P. Hermann, J. P. Schjødt, R. T. Kristensen, Turnhout 2007, 133–149; N. Price: “Passing into Poetry: Viking-Age Mortuary Drama and the Origins of Norse Mythology.” *Medieval Archaeology* 54 (2010), 131–137; Duczko, *Viking Rus*, 137–154; cf. J. E. Montgomery, “Vikings and Rus in Arabic sources,” In: *Living Islamic History. Studies in Honour of Professor Carole Hillenbrand*. Ed. Y. Suleiman, Edinburgh 2010, 157–160.

⁸ P. G. Foote–D. M. Wilson, *The Viking Achievement: A Survey of the Society and Culture of Early Medieval Scandinavia*. New York 1970, 408; Montgomery, *Ibn Fadlān and the Rūsiyyah*, 23; Montgomery, *Vikings and Rus*, 163. Cf. Duczko, *Viking Rus*, 138, who stated that “even if some features of the described rituals may be alien to Scandinavian culture, and were obtained in the East, the whole funeral has to be seen as Norse and nothing else.”

⁹ Hraundal, *New Perspectives*, 85.

¹⁰ P. Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings. AD 700–1100*. London–New York 1982, 114.

permitted to enter.¹¹ However, we also hear about “Paradise” in Ibn Fadlan’s work, where he describes the Oghuz Turk views on the afterlife. This is the section where we also find the information that the Oghuz’ place their sick individuals into tents and leave them there, strikingly similar to the story of the dead Rus chieftain who is left in his tent for ten days.¹² According to Hraundal, even the tattoos on the Rus’ would probably be better explained as a borrowed tradition from the East rather than from Scandinavia, as Inner-Asia is the place where the archaeological traces of this body embellishment can be found.¹³ The group depicted by Ibn Fadlan, therefore, likely represented an ethnicity in formulation, which evolved through the interaction between warrior-merchant groups of Scandinavian origin and local Turkic tribes living along the Volga.

These Turkic influences, however, were by no means confined to the Volga area. The Dnieper region was also the home of nomadic tribes, such as the Magyars¹⁴ and the Pechenegs, both of which had considerable contact with the Rus’ in the ninth–tenth centuries.¹⁵

Prince Sviatoslav (945–972), for instance, fought in alliance with Magyars and Pechenegs during his Bulgarian campaign. In 971, he and his remaining army retreated to Dorostolon, where they were besieged for weeks. According to the Byzantine chronicler Leo the Deacon, the Rus, whom he calls “Tauroscythians”, according Byzantine historical tradition, performed sacrifices during the siege:

“When night fell, since the moon was nearly full, they [the Tauroscythians] came out on the plain and searched for their dead; and they collected them in front of the city and kindled numerous fires and burned them, after slaughtering on top of them many captives, both men and women, in accordance with their ancestral custom. And they made sacrificial offerings by drowning suck-

¹¹ Hraundal, *New Perspectives*, 85.

¹² Hraundal, *New Perspectives*, 86–88.

¹³ Hraundal, *New Perspectives*, 87.

¹⁴ Although the Magyars originally spoke a Finno-Ugric language, their culture was evidently Turkic in character. In addition, it is also reported that they were fluent in one of the Turkic languages taught to them by the adjoining tribes of the Khabaroi. *Constantine Porphyrogenitus: De administrando imperio*. Vol. 1., ed. Gy. Moravcsik, trans. R. J. H. Jenkins, Washington 1967, 174–175.

¹⁵ A. N. Szaharov, “Orosz-magyar szövetségi kapcsolatok a 9–10. században.” [Russian-Hungarian alliances in the ninth–tenth centuries] *Századok* 120 (1986), 111–122; Á. Bollók, “Inter barbaras et nimiae feritatis gentes’. Az Annales Bertiniani 839. évi rhos követsége és a magyarok.” [‘Inter barbaras et nimiae feritatis gentes’. The rhos legation of the Annales Bertiniani in the age of 839 and the Hungarians] *Századok* 138:2 (2004), 349–380.; M. Tösér, “A 971. évi dorostoloni hadjárat.” [The Dorostolon campaign of the year 971] *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 115/2 (2002), 335–352; *De administrando imperio*, 48–53.; *The Russian Primary Chronicle. Laurentian text*. ed. and trans., S. H. Cross, O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, Cambridge 1953, 71–73, 85–90, 122.

ling infants and chickens in the Istros, plunging them into rushing waters of the river.”¹⁶

The account is brief and taciturn compared to Ibn Fadlan’s report and it is resultantly problematic to detect clear Scandinavian or Slavic characteristics in it. The vague description of cremation as well as human and cock sacrifices could well have been “the ancestral custom” of not only the Scandinavians but also the Slavs. For instance, on the subject of 10th-century Slavs, Ibn Rusta notes that they hang one of the wives of the dead by the neck and, after she has suffocated, cremate her.¹⁷ Concerning the sacrificing of cocks, Thietmar of Merseburg writes that this is a custom of the Scandinavians, but many scholars suspect it to be a Slavic custom as well.¹⁸ However, there are few details that can help to locate another cultural heritage in this ritual.¹⁹ The victims of Viking human sacrifices are in most cases volunteers, and perhaps occasionally criminals or unfit leaders; however, the sacrifice of hostages is extremely rare.²⁰ This also goes against the usual Rus mentality where the victims are not forced into the procedure. Besides the slave girl participating in the ritual voluntarily, Ibn Fadlan also subsequently described how the retinue members of the Rus king willingly submit themselves to suicide upon their master’s death.²¹ Ibn

¹⁶ *The History of Leo the Deacon. Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century.* ed. and trans., A. Talbot, D. F. Sullivan in cooperation with G. T. Dennis and S. McGrath, Washington D.C. 2005, 193.

¹⁷ *Ibn Fadlān and the Land of Darkness. Arab Travellers in the Far North.* trans., P. Lunde, C. Stone, London 2012, 124.

¹⁸ *Thietmari Merseburgensis Episcopi Chronicon*, (Monumenta Germaniae Historica) ed. I. M. Lappenbech. Hannover 1889, 23–24. (Lib. I/13.); I. Wenska, “Sacrifices among the Slavs: Between Archaeological Evidence and 19th Century Folklore.” *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoviensia* 10 (2015), 271–313.

¹⁹ V. Tarras, “Leo Diaconus and the Ethnology of Kievan Rus’.” *Slavic Review* 24:3 (1965), 395–406.

²⁰ About Viking human sacrifices, see: H. R. Ellis, *The Road to Hel. A Study of the Conception of the Dead in Old Norse Literature.* New York 1968, 50–59; D. Bray, “Sacrifice and Sacrificial Ideology in Old Norse Religion,” In: *The dark side. Proceedings of the Seventh Australian and International Religion, Literature and the Arts Conference*, ed. C. Hartney, A. McGarrity, Sydney 2002, 123–135; Simpson, *Everyday life*, 185–186; A. Hultgård, “Menschenopfer,” In: *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*. Vol. 9., ed. H. Beck et al., Berlin 2001, 533–546; K. Edholm, “Människoooffer i fornnordisk religion. En diskussion utifrån arkeologiskt material och källtexter.” *Chaos* 65 (2016); the only example of Vikings sacrificing hostages (as far as I know) was made on the shores of the Seine, where the Northmen said to hang up 111 Frankish prisoners of war. *Analecta Bollandiana*. Vol. 2. ed. C. D. Smedt, G. van Hooff, J. Becker, Brussels-Paris 1883, 78. This act, however, might be related more to the frightening of the enemy rather than being offerings to the gods and the spiritual background of the act is also dissimilar to the ones performed in Dorostolon (see the discussion below).

²¹ Montgomery, *Ibn Fadlān and the Rūsiyyah*, 21.

Hawqal also notes that Rus servants go into death voluntarily, just like servants in India, Gana and the Kura region.²² The sacrifice of prisoners therefore suggests a spiritually different purpose.²³ Regarding the Khazars, the Byzantine Theophanes recorded that after the death of one of their eminent magistrates, the *tudun*, they sacrificed 300 hostile prisoners in 710/711 in order to serve the *tudun* as retainers in the afterlife.²⁴ The sacrifices during the siege of Dorostolon are likely to be interpreted this way, namely that the Rus sacrificed hostages to avenge their fallen warriors and force the enemies to serve them in the afterlife (in this way, making the fallen Rus warriors the real victors). This is later supported by Leo's words; he notes that the Rus preferred to lean onto their own swords rather than fall into captivity, as the one who is killed by the enemy goes on to serve him in the afterlife.²⁵ This practice is incompatible with the Scandinavian notion of Valhalla, a warrior heaven where the fallen warriors receive credit for dying in battle. In contrast, besides the Khazars, the practice has been recorded in relation to other nomadic tribes too, such as the Magyars, Mongols and the Oghuz'.²⁶

The sacrifices performed by Sviatoslav's men could well have been influenced by Turkic nomadic habits, as he had been fighting together with (and sometimes against) them for a long time. The idea that Turkic habits may have been influential is testified to by Sviatoslav's character itself. The Rus prince was always on the warpath and lived his life in the saddle as a typical nomad, according to the *Russian Primary Chronicle*:

"Stepping light as a leopard, he undertook many campaigns. Upon his expeditions, he carried with him neither wagons nor kettles, and boiled no meat, but cut off small strips of horseflesh, game, or beef, and ate it after roasting it on the coals. Nor did he have a tent, but he spread out a horse-blanket under him, and set his saddle under his head."²⁷

Furthermore, he wore his hair in a ponytail and shaved the remaining parts of his skin.²⁸ A coiffure of this kind was characteristic of the Magyars at this

²² Birkeland, *Nordens historie*, 51.

²³ R. A. E. Mason, "The Religious Beliefs of the Khazars." *The Ukrainian Quarterly* 51:4 (1995), 407.

²⁴ *The Chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History. AD 284-813*, ed., trans. C. Mango, R. Scott in cooperation with G. Geatrex, Oxford 1997, 527-528.

²⁵ *The History of Leo the Deacon*, 195.

²⁶ Gy. Moravcsik, "Zum Bericht des Leon Diakonos über den Glauben an die Dienstleistung im Jenseits." *Studia Antiqua. Antonio Salač septuagenario oblate*. Prague 1955, 74-76.; Tarras, *Leo the Deacon*, 401.; Ibn Fadlan and the Land of the Darkness: *Arabic Travellers in the far North*. trans. P. Lunde, C. Stone, London 2012, 18.

²⁷ *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, 84.

²⁸ *The History of Leo the Deacon*, 199.

time.²⁹ Sviatoslav also wore earrings, a fashion historically associated with the East rather than with the Scandinavians or Slavs, who usually had long hair-styles and thus would not have been able to put jewellery like this on public display.³⁰ Sviatoslav is one of the best examples of the complexity of early medieval identities. As a Rurikid, he was of Scandinavian descent, just like many of his commanders and warriors. However, he was also the first Rus prince to have a Slavic name and, moreover, to lead a nomadic life.

Although the patterns are less clear cut, we can also suspect different cultural traits in Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De Administrando Imperio* (DAI), when the work describes the sacrifices of Rus merchants on their way through the Dnieper to Constantinople:

"...they reach the island called St. Gregory, on which island they perform their sacrifices because a gigantic oak-tree stands there; and they sacrifice live cocks. Arrows, too, they peg in round about, and others bread and meat, or something whatever each may have, as is their custom. They also throw lots regarding the cocks, whether to slaughter them or to eat them as well, or to leave them alive."³¹

It is suspected that we are dealing with a Scandinavian ritual here. However, in the words of Obolensky, the ritual also "[tallies] with our admittedly meagre knowledge of Slavonic pagan ritual".³² A comparison of the three rituals can perhaps shed more light on the matter.

In terms of the location, all three rituals are performed near the water's edge, which has always held a sacred place in Scandinavian cosmology as a gateway between different worlds.³³ Viking objects found in wetlands are well-known examples of ritual sacrifices from the Scandinavian and the West-European archaeological records,³⁴ and some archaeologists interpret Viking

²⁹ *A honfoglalás korának írott forrásai*. [Written sources of the Age of the (Hungarian) conquest (of the Carpathian Basin)] Szegedi Középkortörténeti Könyvtár, Ed. Gy. Kristó, Szeged 1995, 186, 199; *Liutprandus Cremonensis: Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana Monumenta Germaniae Historica* 19, ed. J. Becker, Hannover-Leipzig 1915, 185.

³⁰ Tarras, *Leo the Deacon*, 404–405.

³¹ *De administrando imperio*, 61.

³² Obolensky, *The Byzantine Sources on the Scandinavians*, 158.

³³ J. Lund, *Åsted og vadested. Deponeringer, genstandsbiographier, og rumling strukturering som kilde til vikingetidens kognitive landskaber*. [Brooks and fords. Depositions, objects biographies and spatial structuring as sources for Viking Age cognitive landscapes] PhD dissertation, Oslo 2008; J. Lund, "Banks, Borders and Bodies of Water in a Viking Age Mentality." *Journal of Wetland Archaeology* 8 (2008), 51–70.

³⁴ J. Lund, "At the water's edge." In: *Signals of Belief in Early England. Anglo-Saxon Paganism Revisited*. ed. M. Carver–A. Sanmark–S. Semple, Oxford–Oakville 2010, 49–66.

swords found near the Dnieper cataracts in the same manner.³⁵ Adam of Bremen already noted that the Swedes undertook sacrifices at springs.³⁶ It is likely that this habit was brought by the Vikings to the "East" as well, as the *Life of St. George of Amastris* also mentions the veneration of springs by the Rus.³⁷ Therefore, at first glance, the location of the ceremonies still seems to suggest Scandinavian origins.

The ritual on Saint Gregory Island, however, is unique in that it is performed at a tree. In Scandinavian mythology, the world tree Yggdrasil, as an *axis mundi*, held together the different layers of the world. Besides its central place in the cosmology, Yggdrasil had a protective function too; this is evident from the data of the Old Norse sources as well as those of the archaeological records.³⁸ The tree on the island of Saint Gregory could perhaps symbolise Yggdrasil as the "protector", because the ritual was conducted after the Rus were relieved by the cessation of threatening Pecheneg attacks near the Dnieper cataracts.³⁹ The sacrifices may signal gratitude for the safe passage. Early pagan Slavs, however, also venerated springs,⁴⁰ and the oak tree was a centre of worship in Slavic mythology, the oak tree being the sacred place of the god, Perun.⁴¹ Nevertheless, the fact that the *DAI* refers to the Dnieper rapids not only in Slavic but in the Old Norse language suggests that a considerable number of the Rus passengers were still related to Scandinavia. This is supported by a stone carved with Old Norse runes found on the island of Berezan, which is also on the Dnieper route to Constantinople,⁴² and the close Gotlandic analogies of the five presumably "sacrificial" Viking swords that were found near the island of Saint Gregory.⁴³ Of course, Slavs may have

³⁵ F. Androshchuk, "Har götlandska vikingar offrat vapen i Dnepr-forsarna?" [Have Gotlandic Vikings sacrificed weapons in the Dnieper rapids?] *Fornvännen* 97:1 (2002), 9–14.

³⁶ *Magistri Adam Bremensis Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica 3, ed. B. Schmeidler, Hannover 1917, 257–258.

³⁷ *Life of St. George of Amastris*. trans., D. Jenkins et. al., https://library.nd.edu/byzantine_studies/documents/Amastris.pdf [accessed: 17.02.2017.] For the authenticity of this source see: G. Vernadsky, *The Origins of Russia*. Oxford 1959, 188–189.

³⁸ A. Gilmore, "Trees as a Central Theme in Norse Mythology and Culture. An Archaeological Perspective." *Scandinavian-Canadian Studies* 23 (2016), 16–26.

³⁹ "From this island onwards, the Russians do not fear the Pechenegs until they reach the river Salinas." *De administrando imperio*, 61.

⁴⁰ *Procopius History of the Wars*, Procopius in Seven Volumes Vol. 4., trans. H. B. Dewing, London–New York 1924, 269–273.

⁴¹ J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, New York 2009, 109–120, 159–161; it must be noted that oak was associated with sacrifices made to the Scandinavian god Thor as well, see: Simpson, *Everyday life*, 176.

⁴² F. Braun, T. J. Arne, "Den svenska runstenen från ön Berezanj utanför Dneprmynningen." [The Swedish runestone from the island of Berezan following the mouth of the Dnieper] *Fornvännen* 9 (1914), 44–48.

⁴³ Androshchuk, *Har götlandska vikingar*, 9–14.

joined the expedition, and the close similarities between early Slavic and Old Norse religions could only have strengthened their bonds with the assimilated Northmen. Trees played a spiritual role not only in Baltic and Slavic beliefs,⁴⁴ but also in the religions of Turkic tribes, where, as in Old Norse cosmology, they held together the different layers of the world.⁴⁵ Thus, among the 10th century pagan religions, striking similarities can be found (e.g. the similar pantheons of the gods),⁴⁶ which made it easier to adapt to the different practices and beliefs.

In all three accounts, we find poultry (hens, chickens, cocks) as sacrificial animals.⁴⁷ Cocks and roosters were important actors in Norse mythology.⁴⁸ Cocks were evidently fulfilling a beacon-like role, as foreboders of great calamities; consequently, their role in Scandinavian rituals as instruments of soothsaying and prophecy is not surprising. Archaeological evidence of cocks being sacrificed can be found in Scandinavian burials, too.⁴⁹

The sacrificial animals, however, are executed in different ways in the three accounts, which can be explained by the different intents of the rituals, but the method of execution is also helpful in locating parallels. As noted above, the hen is decapitated in Ibn Fadlan's work, whilst in Leo the Deacon's *Historia* the chickens are drowned in water. Ritual drowning in water is also mentioned by Adam of Bremen in his description of the pagan habits of the Swedes, the origin of most of the Northmen who came to the East.⁵⁰ However, one meagre parallel might be insufficient to confirm the Scandinavian roots of this execution method.

⁴⁴ P. Jones, N. Pennick, *A History of Pagan Europe*. London–New York 1995, 174; Vernadsky, *The Origins of Russia*, 123.

⁴⁵ M. Eliade, *Shamanism. Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, trans. W. R. Trask, Princeton 1972, 269–274; Mason, *The Religious Beliefs*, 400–403.; Vernadsky, *The Origins of Russia*, 32–34; Sz. G. Kljastornij, "Török nyelvű népek mitológiája," [Mythology of Turkic-speaking people] In: *Mitológiai enciklopédia*, [Encyclopedia of Mythology] ed. Sz. A. Tokarev, Budapest 1988, 490, 492; I. Fodor, "Az ősi magyar vallásról." [About the ancient Hungarian religion] *Csodaszarvas* 1 (2005), 12–13.

⁴⁶ O. Pritsak, *The Origin of Rus'. Old Scandinavian Sources other than the Sagas*. Vol. 1., Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute Monograph Series, Cambridge–Massachusetts 1981, 73–86.; S. H. Cross, "Primitive Civilization of the Eastern Slavs." *The American Slavic and East European Review* 5:1 (1946), 79; Vernadsky, *The Origins of Russia*, 40–41.

⁴⁷ In the case of the Dorostolon sacrifices, we cannot be sure that chickens were sacrificed, as the observer likely viewed the events from a considerable distance (as he was presumably in the Byzantine camp) and at midnight which both make it hard to distinguish between poultry of different kind. The "chickens" could thus well have been roosters or hens also.

⁴⁸ Schjødt, *Ibn Fadlan's account*, 143–144.; *Eddukvæði* Vol. 1. ed. Jónas Kristjánsson, Vésteinn Ólason, Reykjavík 2014, 302, 313

⁴⁹ Duczko, *Viking Rus*, 149; K. Jennbert, *Animals and Humans: Recurrent Symbiosis in Archaeology and Old Norse Religion*. Lund 2011, 103.

⁵⁰ *Magistri Adam Bremensis*, 257–258.

What is especially interesting is the third example in the *De Administrando Imperio*, where it is decided whether the cocks are to be killed (in an unspecified way), eaten or left alive by casting lots. We are already familiar with the practice of casting lots from the Scandinavian tradition (*hlutkesti*);⁵¹ however, the work *Chronica Slavorum*—written around 1172 and describing some of the sacrificial habits of the Slavs—reports that the pagan “priest” also casts lots to designate the festivities dedicated to the gods.⁵² The time span between the *DAI* and the *Chronica* is long, though Thietmar of Merseburg also mentions the Slavic habit of lot casting from 1005.⁵³ It is therefore hard to decide whether this practice stems from Scandinavian culture or from local Slavic habits, especially given that the Slavic god Perun also used to receive cockerels as offerings.⁵⁴

It is also not unique that the Rus’ on the island of Saint Gregory allowed the possibility to eat the sacrificial animals. It is not only mentioned in connection with Scandinavians in *Hákonar saga Góða*,⁵⁵ but often in relation to Turkic cultures as well. Ibn Fadlan recorded that the Oghuz’ used to eat the sacrificial horse.⁵⁶ Certain rites thus seem to be more or less identically performed in early medieval pagan religious rituals, which would easily give way to the development of mixed customs. Such an instance is mentioned in the *Russian Primary Chronicle* when the Rus’, upon contracting, took oaths upon their weapons, which is a well-known Scandinavian tradition,⁵⁷ and at the same time they also pledged allegiance to Slavic gods—Perun and Volos.⁵⁸

There might be a similar cultural mix on Saint Gregory Island. Here, the Rus pegged arrows around an idol (in this case a holy tree). Arrows were not exclusive cultural markers of Scandinavians or Turkic speaking peoples. Identifying these as the Scandinavian “war arrows” often heard of in the *Kings’*

⁵¹ Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings*, 54; Bray, *Sacrifice and Sacrificial Ideology*, 126.

⁵² *Helmoldi presbyterii chronica Slavorum a. 800–1172*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, ed. J. Martin, Lappenberg 1868, 52. (Lib. I/52.)

⁵³ *Thietmari Merseburgensis Episcopi Chronicon*, 302–303. (Lib. IV/24.)

⁵⁴ M. Dixon-Kennedy, *Encyclopedia of Russian & Slavic Myth and Legend*, Denver–Oxford 1998, 217; M. Gimbutas, *The Slavs*. London 1971, 166. As far as I am concerned, cocks are mentioned in early medieval sources on Slavic beliefs only in connection with the sacrifices during the Dorostolon siege and the ones at the island of Saint Gregory. However, the pure Slavic nature of these rituals was contested here and thus it is also possible that cock sacrifices came into the Rus’ tradition through Scandinavian influence.

⁵⁵ *Snorri Sturluson: Heimskringla*. Vol. 1. Íslenzk Fornrit 26, ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, Reykjavík 2002, 167–168.

⁵⁶ *Ibn Fadlān and the Land of Darkness*, 18.

⁵⁷ M. Stein-Wilckshuis, “Scandinavians swearing oaths in tenth-century Russia: Pagans and Christians.” *Journal of Medieval History* 28 (2002), 155–168.

⁵⁸ *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, 65, 90; Cf., Cross, *Primitive civilization*, 81, who claims that the Scandinavians retainers swore on Perun whilst the Slavs on Volos.

Sagas as being carried through the land in times of war,⁵⁹ or as distinctive features of steppe nomadic warfare, would both be very dubious associations. In Slavic mythology, on the other hand, arrows were one of Perun's distinctive weapons (representing his lightning bolts).⁶⁰ This, together with the sacred oak tree, would suggest a Slavic ritual.

However, it is worth drawing attention to the similarities between the rituals of Saint Gregory Island and those of Ibn Fadlan's passages, where the Rus' also erected poles around unnamed idols.⁶¹ In addition to this specific correspondence, it is notable that both rituals were performed by merchants regarding a successful business trip, and that, besides arranging poles (and arrows), food was offered in both cases as well. The purpose and the performance of the rituals seem to be identical, the use of arrows being the sole difference. This is intriguing since the practice of pegging poles is also known in the Scandinavian cultural-religious milieu.⁶² An Arab emissary of the 10th century, al-Tartushi, whose lost work survives in 13th century excerpts, writes that the inhabitants of the Scandinavian commercial town Hedeby celebrate a feast by sacrificing an ox, a ram, a goat or a pig, which they then hang outside in front of their houses on a pole to make it visible to everyone.⁶³ This strongly resembles Ibn Fadlan's description, in which the Rus' tie "the heads of the cows or the sheep to that piece of wood set up in the ground."⁶⁴

Thus, at least two interpretations are possible. Firstly, supplemented by other Scandinavian characteristics in the ritual discussed at the beginning of this article, the construction of sacrificial poles in Ibn Fadlan's work may represent a Scandinavian tradition. The ritual performed on Saint Gregory Island must then be a variant of the "original" Scandinavian custom, where the material culture was substituted in order to fit Slavic beliefs better, specifically the veneration of the thunder god Perun. Secondly, it is also possible that the Rus' on the Volga erected idols according to indigenous Slavic habits, substituting the arrows with poles. Whatever the case, both Rus communities would inevitably have been affected by both Slavic and Scandinavian cultures, as implied by the details of the rituals and the contextual evidence.

⁵⁹ About its exemplary occurrences in different *Kings' sagas*, see, Snorri Sturluson: *Heimskringla. History of the Kings of Norway*. trans. L. M. Hollander, Austin 2009, 115, 156, 177, 190, 199.

⁶⁰ Dixon-Kennedy, *Encyclopedia of Russian & Slavic Myth*, 217.

⁶¹ Montgomery, *Ibn Fadlān and the Rūsīyyah*, 9–10.

⁶² The Icelandic poet Egill Skallagrímsson erected a horse's head on a pole to frighten away the land spirits of his rivals in Norway. *Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar*, Íslenzk Fornrit Vol. 2., ed. Sigurður Nordal, Reykjavík 1933, 171. The purpose and context of Egill's act, however, does not seem to correspond with the rituals discussed here.

⁶³ J. Georg, *Arabische Berichte von Gesandten an germanische Fürstenhöfe aus dem 9. und 10. Jahrhundert*. Berlin–Leipzig 1927, 29; Birkeland, *Nordens historie*, 103–104.

⁶⁴ Montgomery, *Ibn Fadlān and the Rūsīyyah*, 11.

In addition, while stabbing spears into a tomb (presumably with a flag on them) was common among the Volga Bulgars (whom, as discussed above, had considerable cultural influence on the Rus'), judging by the archaeological evidence and ethnographical parallels, the Magyars also performed such funerals.⁶⁵ These are not analogous to the habit recorded by Ibn Fadlan and al-Tartushi, but it suggests that the custom of erecting ritual poles, albeit in a different form, was at least known in the Turkic world as well. A closer analogue is mentioned by Ibn Fadlan himself when describing the habits of the Oghuz who, during a funeral, sacrifice one or two hundred horses, and suspend the horses' heads, legs, skins and tails on wooden poles.⁶⁶

The Slavs also employed spears in their sacrifices, although they never stuck them in the ground. In Thietmar's chronicle, two spears are placed crosswise on the ground,⁶⁷ in Herbold's biography of Otto of Bamberg, nine spears are laid down in a cubit distance from each other,⁶⁸ and in Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum*, the spears are used as compasses pointing towards lands of interest, which the Slavs planned to conquer.⁶⁹ This is not to suggest that the Rus' modified their habits, rather than they lay down poles due to the influence of the Bulgars, Oghuz or Khazars on the Volga, or the Magyars and the Pechenegs in the Dnieper region. However, it should be emphasised that certain elements in a ritual were subject to change, and, because of the dearth of sources, we cannot really measure the extent to which this change was caused by foreign influence, the circumstances of the time or the available resources.

In fact, the exact reason why the Rus used arrows for this particular performance could be sought in the circumstances of the ritual itself, rather than in a conscious cultural heritage. While the Rus merchants on the Volga had a presumably safe passage, the Rus' on the Dnieper voyage were constantly under attacks from the Pechenegs. This may explain why the Rus' of the *DAI* utilised arrows for the ritual: as arrows were the most optimal weapon for warfare on the river, they probably carried them with themselves in abundant numbers. While not excluding the possibility that the use of arrows could have been

⁶⁵ L. Kovács, "A honfoglaló magyarok lándzsái és lándzsástemetkezésük." [Spears and spear burials of the Conquering Hungarians] *Alba Regia* 11 (1970), 81–108.

⁶⁶ *Ibn Fadlān and the Land of Darkness*, 18; Montgomery, *Ibn Fadlān and the Rūsīyyah*, 11. n. 34. In a somewhat different form, this ritual was documented about Mongols as well. *The Texts and Versions of John De Plano Carpini and William De Rubruquis*, ed. C. R. Beazley, London 1903, 49.

⁶⁷ *Thietmari Merseburgensis Episcopi Chronicon*, 303. (Lib IV/24.)

⁶⁸ *Herboldi Dialogus de Vita Ottonis Episcopi Babenbergensis*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, ed. G. H. Pertz, Hannover 1868, 91. (Lib II/33.)

⁶⁹ S. Sielicki, *Saxo Grammaticus on pre-Christian religion of the Slavs. The relevant fragments from book XIV of Gesta Danorum*, 9. [accessed online: https://www.academia.edu/11345671/Saxo_Grammaticus_on_pre-Christian_religion_of_the_Slavs_the_relevant_fragments_from_book_XIV_of_Gesta_Danorum_final_draft_23.02.2017.]

related to the violent connotations of the trip and the ritual, it is also likely that the Rus merchants simply used the objects at hand to undertake the performance. Practical decisions could have easily outweighed regulations. Prince Sviatoslav, for instance, did not sacrifice weapons and food to his cremated comrades, even though the Rus' on the Volga did so. Of course, the lack of weapons and food in the Dorostolon sacrifices can be attributed to the inattentiveness of the Byzantine spectator, but the possibility that Sviatoslav, as a practical military commander, deliberately chose not to waste valuable tools and supplies under siege cannot be ruled out. By using local materials and adapting to the situation at the time, Sviatoslav would have displayed a high level of flexibility, especially towards religious practices. The motif of erecting poles is an example where material culture could be easily substituted or even omitted if necessary.

Based on the aforementioned information, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1) Scandinavian analogues of certain features of pagan Rus ritual practices were still discernible in the middle of the 10th century. The prevalence of waterfront locations, (presumably) holy trees, human and animal sacrifices (especially cocks), and the use of weapons and other grave goods suggests that Scandinavians had not yet been fully assimilated in the 10th century. Although these elements were also similar to the habits of the Slavs, contextual evidence hints that a decisive number of the participants in these rituals came from Scandinavian ethno-religious backgrounds.

2) The universal features and striking similarities among contemporary pagan religions helped the Rus' mentally adapt to specific rites and beliefs. In the case of the Slavs, the long cohabitation assured the merge of these cultures on a religious level (e.g. the identification of Nordic gods with their Slavic counterparts).⁷⁰ However, the ongoing interaction between the Rus' and Turkic nomadic peoples also seems to have influenced Rus rituals. In addition to the aforementioned examples, Ibn Rusta noted that the Rus' had their own special healing men called *atibba*, who served a function comparable to that of the shamans of the steppe.⁷¹ Likewise, Ibn Fadlan described the spiritual role of the Rus king as being akin to that of the Khazar khagans.⁷²

The relatively quick adaptation can be explained by another supposition as well. Scandinavians coming to Eastern Europe had already encountered nomadic people in their homelands, the Sámi, who performed rituals similar to

⁷⁰ According to some, Vladimir established the idols of pagan Varangian-Rus gods in Kiev to create a common mental origin for his ethnically mixed retinue. M. Font, "A magyar kalandozások és a kelet-európai viking terjeszkedés." [The Hungarian incursions and the East European Viking expansion] In: *Állam, hatalom, ideológia. Tanulmányok az orosz történelem sajátosságairól*, [State, Power, Ideology. Studies on the peculiarities of Russian history] ed. M. Font, E. Sashalmi, Pécs 2007, 44; Vernadsky, *The Origins of Russia*, 123.

⁷¹ Birkeland, *Nordens historie*, 17.

⁷² Montgomery, *Ibn Fadlān and the Rūsīyyah*, 21–22.

those of the nomadic tribes in the East.⁷³ Sámi shamanistic rituals and magic seem to have had a considerable impact on Old Norse religion,⁷⁴ and the knowledge of Sámi culture among the Scandinavians must have been widespread. The Sámi originally dwelled in the Northern parts of present-day Finland, Sweden, and the Northern and Southern parts of Norway. Vikings operating in the East mostly came from these areas, which made it possible for them to meet Sámi people before moving to the East. Moreover, the Sámi were frequent characters in 13th-14th century Icelandic sagas,⁷⁵ suggesting that their culture was well-known even in the more distant parts of the North centuries later. This means that not only "Swedes" and "Norwegians" could have been familiar with the variants of shamanistic customs, but others as well. Therefore, meeting folks with similar practices was certainly no shock to them.⁷⁶

3) The Rus' were highly pragmatic people who not only embraced new perspectives, but also adopted local fashions and replaced their genuine objects with local material culture when necessary. Such flexibility in handling objects in a ritual context definitely supported the development of miscellaneous rites.

Looking at pagan Rus rituals as melting pots of cultural influences can bring us closer to understanding contemporary Rus identity. Depending on with whom they entered into contact with (and for how long) during their activities in the East, Scandinavian groups could become diverse culturally not only from the other inhabitants of the region, but also from each other.

⁷³ Å. Hultkrantz, "Aspects of Saami (Lapp) Shamanism." In: *Northern Religions and Shamanism*. ed. M. Hoppál, J. Pentikäinen, Helsinki 1992, 138–146; Eliade, *Shamanism*, 379–387; see for instance a recorded Sámi ritual probably by an eyewitness: *Historia Norvegie*. ed. I. Ekrem, L. B. Mortensen, trans. P. Fisher, Copenhagen 2006, 92–93.; in the sagas, see: Hermann Pálsson, "The Sami people in Old Norse Literature." *Nordlit Arbeidstidsskrift i Litteratur* 5 (1999), 29–53.

⁷⁴ E. Mundal, "Coexistence of Saami and Norse Culture – Reflected in and Interpreted by Old Norse Myths." In: *Literature and Society. Papers of the 11th International Saga Conference*, ed. M. C. Ross, Sydney 2000, 346–355.; N. S. Price, *The Viking Way. Religion and War in Late Iron Age Scandinavia*, PhD dissertation, Uppsala 2002.

⁷⁵ Hermann Pálsson, *The Sami people in Old Norse Literature*, 29–53.

⁷⁶ H. R. E. Davidson, *The Viking Road to Byzantium*. London 1976, 283–300.

Reconsidering the Chinggisids' Sons-in-Laws: Lessons from the United Empire¹

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This paper discusses an important aspect of the Chinggisid matrimonial relations during the United Empire period (1206–1259), namely the phenomenon of the “sons-in-law” (güregens/küregens) of the Golden lineage. The paper provides an overall analysis of all the matrimonial ties with different tribal, ethnic, and political entities from the Mongolian plateau to the Caucasus and suggests that we consider the establishment of such ties as a thought through strategic policy. The güregens of the Golden lineage will, therefore, be analysed as one of the institutions of the Mongol power hierarchy, highlighting its rather unique position vis-a-vis the other power groups in the Mongol political architecture, such as nökers and keshig.

Dealing with the history of Chinggis Khan’s rise to power, one not only has to pay attention to the question of how this rule was established, but also by what means it was successfully preserved and transmitted. This is not a new question; many scholars have taken up different aspects of this issue over the years. Thus, when debating the major mechanisms underlying Chinggis Khan’s power establishment, one cannot ignore the crucial importance of the personal relations of the Khan with several of his retainers and followers (*nökers*), who were dedicated to serving him and being loyal to him. In fact, the *nökers* became an institutionalised form of service based on their personal loyalty to the Khan.³ A somewhat similar phenomenon were the *ötegü bö’öl*, the “hereditary

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³ For more on this institution see G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung älterer neupersischer Geschichtsquellen, vor allem der Mongolen- und Timuridenzeiten*, Wiesbaden 1963–1968, 1, 521–526, §388.

slaves" of the Khan and his clan, such as the Jalayirs, whose loyalty to the lineage was based not on personal loyalty to a specific person, but on their dependency on the lineage, originating from an old Steppe tradition.⁴ Yet another institutionalised form of obedience and service to the Golden lineage, in place from the very early decades of Mongol rule in Eurasia, was the *keshig*, the personal guard of the Khans and, in a sense, a "stud farm" for the future generations of retainers and high standing servants of the royal house.⁵ The governors appointed in the conquered areas under the direct auspices of the Great Khan (similar to the Kitan institution of *shaojian* 少監) almost complete this picture.⁶

Chinggis Khan made good use of all these types of political relations and mechanisms in order to establish his power networks. There was, however, one more way of binding important people to his clan: the establishment of matrimonial relations between them and the Golden lineage, elevating those lucky ones to the status of *güregens*, the "imperial sons-in-law". Even though there are plenty of references to them in the sources, there has been no broader systematic attempt to approach this phenomenon.⁷ In this paper, which I see as a

⁴ See T.D. Skrynnikova, "Boghol, a Category of Submission at the Mongols," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung.* 58:3 (2005), 331-319. On the Jalayirs as the *bö'öl* of the Chinggisids see Xie Yongmei, *Meng Yuan shiqi Zhalayier bu yanjiu*, Shenyang 2012, 124-127; and elsewhere.

⁵ On the general role of the *keshig* in the Mongol political structures, see E. I. Kychanov, "Keshigteny Chingis Khana (o roli gvardii v gosudarstvakh kochevnikov)," *Mongolica: k 750-letiyu "Sokrovennogo skazaniya"*, Moscow 1993, 148-156; T. T. Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism: The Policies of the Grand Khan Möngke in China, Russia, and the Islamic Lands, 1251-1259*, Berkeley 1987, 99-100; C. P. Atwood, "Ulus Emirs, Keshig Elders, Signatures and Marriage Partners: The Evolution of a Classical Mongol Institution," In: *Imperial Statecraft: Political Forms and Techniques of Governance in Inner Asia, Sixth - Twentieth Centuries*, ed. D. Sneath, Bellingham 2006, 143-159.

⁶ For this policy, see Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism*, 100-113; for the Khitan *shaojian* see M. Biran, *The Empire of Qara Khitai in Eurasian History*, Cambridge 2005, 119-123. For a general discussion of the Mongol imperial ideology and the political institutions of the United Empire's period see T. T. Allsen, "A Note in Mongol Imperial Ideology," In: *The Early Mongols: Language, Culture and History: Studies in Honor of Igor de Rachewiltz on the Occasion of his 80th Birthday*, ed. V. Rybatzki et al., Bloomington 2007, 1-8; P. D. Buell and J. Kolbas, "The Ethos of State and Society in the Early Mongol Empire: Chinggis Khan to Güyük," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 26: 1-2 (2016), 43-64.

⁷ Striking as it is, until now there has been little research on this topic. One outstanding exception is the Chinese research, which concentrates almost exclusively on the marriages inside the Yuan dynasty's realm (for several examples, see Zhang Daiyu, "Yuanshi zhuwang biao" bu zheng ji bufen zhuwang yanjiu, PhD dissertation 2008; Cui Mingde, "Meng Yuan hongjila, woyila, yiqiliesi bu lianyin jian biao," *Journal of Yantai University* 17:1 (2004), 103-115; Hu Xiaopeng, "Menggu hongjila Chiku fuma xi zhuwang yanjiu," *Journal of the Northwest Normal University* 35:5 (1998), 67-73). One also has to mention the recent book by George Qingzhi Zhao, which shows the complexity of the Chinggisid matrimonial policies, but unfortu-

prologue to the research into this institution, I suggest that we see the establishment of the matrimonial relations between the Golden lineage and the representatives of different tribes not only as an additional mechanism for strengthening Chinggis Khan's rule, but first and foremost as a specific form of the dual administration of Mongol rule, which tried to put under control very specific tribal groups of primary importance for the royal clan.⁸ As opposed to the direct administration of the Chinggisids over most of the submitted areas and peoples, the Golden lineage also practiced an indirect rule over a number of large tribal bodies, whose political structure remained in most cases untouched, and whose military commanders, different from the *nökers*, controlled not ethnically-mixed patchwork-like armies, but monolithic tribal military units.

The establishment of the *güregen*-type of relations corresponds to major changes in Chinggis Khan's career. The first, and rather unsuccessful, attempt to use matrimonial relations was Temüjin's suggestion to marry his elder son Jochi to Cha'ur Beki, the granddaughter of Ong Khan, in 1202.⁹ Temüjin tried to establish this connection after his decisive defeat of the Tatars, during which most of the male population of the tribe was annihilated. This victory entailed a change in the power balance in the Steppe between the Kerayit and Temüjin, as the latter then controlled all of eastern Mongolia.¹⁰ It was then that Ong Khan and Temüjin proclaimed themselves officially sworn father and son. It was also on that occasion that Temüjin attempted to strengthen the relations between the two sides by using matrimonial bonds. Aside from this suggestion, Chinggis Khan also proposed to give Fūjin Beki, his daughter by his main wife Börte, to Ong Khan's grandson, brother of Cha'ur Beki and son of Senggüm, Ong Khan's elder son. Due to the enmity of Senggüm, the marriages did not take place, but this was the only known case in early Mongol history when a Mongol Khan attempted to establish equal relations with the other side.¹¹

nately fails to provide a convincing analysis (*Marriage as Political Strategy and Cultural Expression: Mongolian Royal Marriages from World Empire to Yuan Dynasty*, New York 2008).

⁸ For other examples and discussions of the dual administration under the Mongol rule in Eurasia, see, e.g., D. Ostrowski, "The 'Tamma' and the Dual-Administrative Structure of the Mongol Empire," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 61:2 (1998), 262–277.

⁹ *The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, transl. and ed. by I. de Rachewiltz, Leiden 2006 (hereafter *SH*), 1, 76–78, §§153–155; Rashiduddin, Fazlullah, *Jami'u't-Tawarikh, Compendium of Chronicles: A History of Mongols*, transl. and comm. W.M. Thackston, Harvard 1998 (hereafter *JT*), 2, 158–159; cf. *Yuan sheng wu qing zheng lu* (hereafter *SWQZL*), In: *Wang Guowei quan ji*, Hangzhou 2009, 11, 456–457.

¹⁰ On the (partial) annihilation of the Tatar tribe see *JT*, 1, 45–46; on the changes in the Steppe as the result of this defeat see M. Biran, *Chinggis Khan*, Oxford 2007, 38–39.

¹¹ *SH*, 1, 83–84, §164.

Following the defeat of the coalitions of the Kerayit Ong Khan in 1203 and that of the Naiman Tayang Khan in 1204,¹² as well as the subsequent expanding of the Khan's power in the Mongolian steppes, a number of Chinggisid women were given to outer partners. Already in the Kerayit case, one can see a typical characteristic of the establishment of matrimonial relations, namely the fact that they aimed to bind not a specific person, but a group, in that case the Kerayit lineages under the rule of Ong Khan, to the Golden lineage.¹³ Starting in the mid-1200s, the establishment of matrimonial relations became one of the major features of Mongol political architecture. Par. 202 of the *Secret History of the Mongols* provides a list of several commanders of thousands who bore the title *güregen*.¹⁴ The identity of two commanders (Qadai and Ashiq) remains unclear; the others belong to five major tribes: the Olqunu'ut, Baya'ut, Qonggirad, Ikires, and Önggüt. Importantly, the source deliberately stresses the amount of the thousands of warriors under the independent control of those in-laws in the three cases, that of the Qonggirad, Ikires and the Önggüd, while others of the more than seventy commanders are listed only with their names (most of them belonging to Temüjin's *nökers*).¹⁵ What united these tribes and why was their nobility, and not that of other tribal groups, honoured by the right to obtain a Mongol princess?

First of all, it is important to mention that it would be wrong to understand the tribes as one unified body during the incorporation process in the Mongol military. At least in the cases of the Qonggirad, the Ikires and the Önggüd, we are aware of several tribal lineages that did not accept Temüjin and waged war

¹² For the Chinggisid campaign against Ong Khan see *SH*, 1, 106–108, §§ 185–186; *JT*, 1, 191–192, for that against Tayang Khan see *SH*, 1, 115–123, §§ 193–196; *JT*, 1, 68–69, 201–203.

¹³ In this case the establishment of the matrimonial relations suggested “horizontal” relations between the two sides, which aimed to stabilise the power relations in the Steppe.

¹⁴ This list apparently more or less accurately reflects the composition of the Chinggisid army at the moment of the Great Quriltai. Note that for more than seventy commanders of the thousand mentioned there, the sons-in-law provide a very small part, but one controlling a rather significant number of warriors (for the whole list see *SH*, 1, 133–134, §202).

¹⁵ *SH*, 1, 133–134, §202. Note that Olar Güregen of the Olqunu'ut, Buqa Güregen of the Baya'ud, and Chigü Güregen of the Qonggirad appear without any hint at the number of troops under their control. What concerns the latter was that he was still part of the Qonggirad military (cf. Rashid al-Din counting him as a commander of four thousand warriors in *JT*; 2, 278). For more on Chigü and for discussions of his identity, see C. P. Atwood, “Chikü Küregen and the Origins of the Xiningzhou Qonggirads,” *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 21 (2014–2015), 7–26; I. Landa, “Imperial Sons-In-Law on the Move: Oyirad and Qonggirad Dispersion in Mongol Eurasia,” *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 22 (2016), 165, fn. 18 and passim. It is not clear how strong the Baya'ud and the Olqunu'ut units were in Chinggis Khan's army (cf. *JT*, 2, 275, 277). The reasons for them marrying into the Golden *urugh* might lie more in their loyalty and familial closeness to Chinggis Khan (see below).

against him, while others supported him against their own “tribesmen”. In fact, one should understand the “Qonggirads” in the Chinggisid sources primarily as one of the lineages, that of Dei Sechen, Temüjin’s father-in-law, which the sources synonymise retrospectively with the tribe in general.¹⁶ Similar processes are also plausible in other cases.¹⁷ This means that matrimonial relations were established first and foremost with a specific lineage (clan). Different from the *nökers*, the importance of a specific personality for the Golden *urugh* was less relevant than the importance of the clan. Similarly, the primary reason for honouring a lineage in this way was its military potential, namely its ability to provide military manpower for the Chinggisid army, followed by the importance and loyalty of the particular son-in-law and his achievements.

Why were those five tribes mentioned? Firstly, they apparently provided a significant number of warriors. However, even if we only think about large tribes, there were still more than five (the Kerayits, Naimans and Hushin, for example). Another reason was the way those tribes and lineages positioned themselves towards Temüjin. Similar to the famous principle of the Mongol army, according to which the free submission of the city spared the lives of its inhabitants,¹⁸ many of those tribes (lineages) whose relations to Temüjin were friendly and supporting or showed peaceful submission from the very beginning were granted the right to become part of the extended blood family of Temüjin. Thus, the Olqunu’ut were of Temüjin’s motherly clan from the very

¹⁶ For this discussion, see Atwood, *Chikü Küregen*, 21–23, according to whom the Bosqur clan of Dei Sechen (in previous times even possibly separate from the major Qonggirad tribal body) has been identified by later sources as the Qonggirad tribe itself. Although I would be careful in completely separating these two groups, the general pattern analysed by Atwood seems to be of crucial importance for our understanding and the analysis of the early composition of the Mongol armies in the early 13th century.

¹⁷ We do not possess any (or almost any) valid information on the previous history of the specific tribes before the Mongol historians started writing about them. Thus, one should indeed be very careful in talking about “the tribes” while talking about the tribes in the Chinggisid service, as in fact we mean a very specific nobility lineage. At the same time, it is plausible to suppose the existence of different opinions and different factions inside those tribal bodies before their entering the service of the Khan. See, e.g., the information about Önggüd Alaqush Tegin Quri following his decision to betray the Jin dynasty, his previous masters, and support Temüjin (cf. *SH*, 1: 164, §239; *JT*, 1, 64; Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi* [The History of Yuan, thereafter *YS*], Beijing 1976, 118, 2924). There is also unclarity concerning the real status of Botu of the Ikires before his submission to Chinggis Khan, namely as to what his position among the Ikires nobility was and for what reason he was expelled from his tribe following his submission to Chinggis Khan (cf. *JT*, 2, 154; *SH*, 1, 46–47, §120). Note also that at least some parts of the Ikires under the command of Tüge Maqa supported the enthronement of Jamuqa in 1201 (*SH*, 1, 62–63, §141).

¹⁸ On this warfare strategy, see Biran, *Chinggis Khan*, 60.

beginning,¹⁹ the Qonggirads belonged to the lineage of Dei Sechen, father of Börte Fūjin, the Baya'ut and the Ikires pledged alliance very early,²⁰ and the Önggüd submitted peacefully and provided important resources and areas to be controlled by Temüjin on their own initiative without a war.²¹ Loyalty and accessible manpower were, thus, the two main factors in the choice of matrimonial partner in the first years until the Great Quriltai of 1206.²²

Following the consolidation of his power in the Mongolian steppes, Chinggis Khan began his expansion, and his choice of the following matrimonial partners shows his expansion priorities. One of the first directions was the vast mixed steppe-forest zone in Southern Siberia to the north of the Mongolian plateau, occupied by the so-called forest tribes.²³ It seems that adding these areas to his realm had been planned by Chinggis Khan from the period of the Great Quriltai, as he mentioned them and their future submission in his enthronement speech.²⁴ The campaign troops, consisting of the units under the overall command of Jochi Khan, proceeded deep into the northern and north-western areas until at least the sources of the Yenisei, subjugating a number of forest tribes.²⁵ Of primary importance in this context are the Oyirads, the ances-

¹⁹ What concerns the Olqunu'ut, according to the mythological genealogies provided by Rashid al-Dīn, is that they (and the Ikires) belonged to the same broader ancestry-related family as the Qonggirads (*JT*, 1: 84-87). The origins of this mythology as well as the time of its appearance are not clear. These three tribal groups were separate entities at the time of Chinggis Khan's rise to power.

²⁰ In fact, they were one of the first supporters of Chinggis Khan and their military was included in one of the thirteenth *güre'ens* (encampments) of Chinggis Khan's army during the latter's conflict with the Tayichi'ut and Jamuqa (*JT*, 1, 96, 161). Note, however, that the Baya'ud military commander mentioned in the context of this *güre'en* and who is later referred to as a commander of the Baya'ud *hazara* is not Buqa Güregen, but Önggür, apparently a representative of another power group of the tribe (*JT*, 1, 161; *JT*, 2, 277). The reasons for Buqa Güregen's rise in power and in honour are not clear. On the submission of the Ikires, see *YS*, 118, 2921; note that Botu was with Chinggis Khan already during the Baljuna event (*SH*, 1, 46-47, §120). Moreover, Botu's father Nekün (or Botu himself) informed Temüjin about the plans of Jamuqa to attack him (*JT*, 1, 160; cf. *SWQZL*, 417-418 and *YS*, 188, 2921-2922).

²¹ On the submission of the Önggüd, see *JT*, 1, 70-71; cf. the conflicting version in the *YS*, 118, 2924.

²² One also has to keep in mind that there were other powerful tribal and ethnic groups that submitted peacefully or at least without any significant bloodshed and still never entered the ranks of the *güre'ens*. One also must think about the Jalayirs, whose military presence in the Chinggisid military is very impressive (cf. *JT*, 2, 274-277), but whose position as *ötegü bö'öl* prevented them from intermarrying with the Golden *urugh* at this stage (cf. the examples of the Ba'arin and Hushin).

²³ The exact definition of the forest tribes remains unclear; that a certain tribe is called such does not necessarily reflect a specific type of semi-nomadic agriculture. See Landa, *Imperial Sons-In-Law*, 174, fn. 69.

²⁴ *SH*, 1, 139, §207.

²⁵ *SH*, 1, 163-165, §239.

tors of today's Kalmyks. Aside from the Qonggirad, Ikires, and Önggüd, the Oyrads should be seen as one of major son-in-law-tribes of the Golden *urugh*. This tribe was most active in this role in the Yuan realm during the second half of the 13th century and in the Ilkhanate.²⁶ In the period preceding 1206, the Oyrads participated twice in anti-Chinggisid coalitions.²⁷ However, faced with the necessity of dealing with the Mongol armies in 1207/8, one of the Oyrad chieftains, Qutuqa Beqi, not only peacefully submitted to Jochi, but also provided help in conquering the northern forest areas in the border zone.²⁸ This Realpolitik decision was possibly strengthened by the strong charisma of Chinggis Khan, as seen from the successes of the latter in the consolidation of the Mongolian steppes, about which the Oyrads without doubt were well informed. Be this as it may, Chinggis Khan knew how to value submission and cooperation. Qutuqa Beqi was included in the right wing of the Khan's army as a commander of a thousand and matrimonial relations were established between the two sides.²⁹

Two more "in-law" partners are to be mentioned, namely the Uyghurs and the Qarluqs, both groups being under the control of the Qara Khitais at the beginning of the 13th century.³⁰ Facing the rising taxation burden from the side of their masters, and witnessing the constantly growing power of Chinggis Khan in eastern Mongolia, the leaders of both groups deliberately chose to turn their backs on the Qara Khitais and submitted to a new ruler. This was Barchuq Art Tegin (八兒出阿兒忒), the Uyghur *ïduq qut*³¹ of the Uyghur statelet Qocho, who rebelled against the Western Liao, killed their governor, and submitted his areas to Chinggis Khan,³² who not only honoured him and called him "his fifth

²⁶ On this tribe, its dispersion across Eurasia in the aftermath of the Mongol conquests, and its importance for the Chinggisids in the 13th-14th centuries see Landa, *Imperial Sons-In-Law*, 174-192.

²⁷ I.e. in the coalition of Jamuqa's supporters and in that of Tayang Khan (*SH*, 1, 62-63, *JT*, 1, 182, 202, cf. Landa, *Imperial Sons-In-Law*, 177, fns. 81-83). It is important that in both cases the activities of the Oyrads were undertaken under the leadership of the same Qutuqa Beqi who later submitted to Jochi.

²⁸ *SH*, 1, 163-164; cf. *SWQZL*, 491.

²⁹ For more on this see Landa, *Imperial Sons-In-Law*, 177-178.

³⁰ On the Uyghur history before the early 13th century, see P. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*, Wiesbaden 1992, 155-172; regarding the Qarluqs, see *ibid.*, 196-199.

³¹ The meaning of the title is "good fortune", "luck". See more on the meaning of *qut* in G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente*, 3, 551-554, §1568. For the whole phrase *ïduq qut* 'he sacred favour of Heaven' see G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish*. Oxford 1972, 46, for *qut* *ibid.* 594. Recently scholars consider it as a technical term and translate it as 'regal charisma'.

³² *YS*, 122, 3000; *SH*, 1, 163, §238; Juwainī, Ala-ad-Din 'Atā-Malik, *Genghis Khan: The History of the World Conqueror*, trans. J.A. Boyle, Seattle 1997, 45-46; *JT*, 2, 200. There is a contradiction in the sources concerning the exact order of the events. According to the *Secret History*, Rashīd al-Dīn and Juvaynī, the Uyghur ruler sent his emissaries first, Chinggis Khan reacting on the suggestion of submission (*SH*, 1, 163;

son",³³ but also apparently gave him his own daughter in marriage (some sources claim it was Barchuq Art Tegin's son, Kesmes, who *de facto* became the son-in-law).³⁴ Much has been said about the importance of the Uyghurs for the administrative machine of the Golden lineage; such close relations certainly cemented the position of this ethnic group vis-à-vis the royal clan.³⁵ Similar to the Uyghurs, the Qarluqs, a newly-Muslim Turkic tribe, also submitted to Chinggis Khan in at least two of their statelets – Qayaliq and Almaliq – around 1210/11, with their rulers Arslan Khan and Ozar Khan marrying into the Golden lineage.³⁶ Surely, there were other Uyghur and Qarluq rulers in the numerous statelets of the Inner Asian regions westward of Mongolia at that time, but the sources clearly select those of primary importance for the Golden lineage only. Most probably, they were the first ones, and all others, whatever way of submission they may have chosen later on, would automatically have been judged to be lower than those who married into the Golden *urugh*.

Looking at the map of Mongolia and North China in the first decade of the 13th century, one can see two major entities that were excluded from the estab-

JT, 1, 199; Juvaynī/Boyle, *Genghis Khan*, 45). This is different from the version supported by SWQZL and the *Yuanshi* claims that Chinggis Khan sent the envoys to the Uyghur ruler first, the latter reacting positively to this contact, as he was himself at that time preparing a delegation to Chinggis Khan's court (SWQZL, 493–495; *YS*, 122, 3000). According to Allsen, the solution of this contradiction can be that the *Secret History* and Juvaynī simply mention the Uyghur return embassy only (T. T. Allsen, "The Yuan Dynasty and the Uighurs of Turfan in the 13th Century," In: *China among Equals: the Middle Kingdom and its Neighbors, 10th-14th Centuries*, ed. M. Rossabi, Berkeley 1983, 271, fn. 22). In fact, both versions are plausible.

³³ The meaning of the "fifth son" should not be understood literally, Chinggis Khan had more than four sons. However, the number of his sons from his major wife Börte was indeed four. Note also the remark of de Rachewiltz, that "to become a son" meant in the Mongol and Chinese medieval terminologies "to become a vassal" (*SH*, 2, 847).

³⁴ There is much confusion concerning her in the sources. *The Secret History* calls her Al-Altun (*SH*, 1, 163, §238), *Yuanshi* calls her Yeli Andun 也立安敦 in the biography of Barchuq Art Tegin (*YS*, 122, 3000) and Yeli Kedun (Khatun?) 也立可敦 in the list of the princess of Gaochang (*YS*, 109, 2760). Cf. Juvaynī/Boyle, *Genghis Khan*, 47–48; *JT*, 1, 69–70; *SH*, 1, 163, §238; *YS* 122, 3000.

³⁵ Note the importance of the Uyghur language and the Uyghurs for the establishment of the bureaucratic machine of Mongol rule, as well as the fact that the preliminary acquaintance of the Mongols with the Uyghur administrative knowledge started before 1206, whereas the final submission of the Uyghurs under Barchuk Art Tegin took place only after Chinggis Khan's defeat of the Merkid and the Naiman around 1209 (see M.C. Brose, "Uyghur Technologists of Writing and Literacy in Mongol China," *T'oung Pao, Second Series* 91: 4–5 (2005), 396–435 and cf. Biran, *The Empire of Qara Khitai*, 74–75).

³⁶ See *SH*, 1, 162, §235; *JT*, 1, 71; Juvaynī/Boyle, *Genghis Khan*, 74–76 on Arslan Khan, the ruler of Qayaliq and Juvaynī/Boyle, *Genghis Khan*, 75–76 on Ozar Khan, the ruler of Almaliq. On these events cf. also Jamāl al-Qarshī, *Al-mulḥaqāt bi al-ṣurāḥ*, Almaty 2005, clxii–clxiii and Biran, *The Empire of Qara Khitai*, 75–76.

lishment of the “in-law” relations during Chinggis Khan's lifetime: the Tangut Xi Xia (西夏, 1038-1227) and the Jürchen Jin (金朝, 1115-1234) dynasty. Even though Chinggis Khan seems to have served the Jin at the end of the 12th century,³⁷ relations between him and the Jürchens became hostile from the early 13th century, and the main aim of Chinggis Khan was then to exterminate the Jin (only Ögedei Khan [r.1229-1241] was able to fulfil this task). The Western Xia were theoretically an ally of Temüjin, but they were unreliable and rather hostile, and only once did Chinggis Khan demand that the Tanguts send him their princess as a gift. The establishment of *güregen* relations was out of the question, and in fact, the elimination of the dynasty became the last conquest aim of the aging Khan.³⁸

The rather simplistic picture given above becomes much more complicated with the death of Chinggis Khan in 1227. Firstly, the Golden lineage preserved almost all the “in-law” relations established during Chinggis Khan's lifetime, and only a few new ones were established by the Great Khans until 1259, the death year of Möngke (r. 1251-1259). Secondly, matrimonial relations with the Golden lineage were not only preserved, but often expanded, so that during the decades between 1227 and 1259 we see ever-growing matrimonial networks of the Golden *urugh*, not least due to the appearance and consolidation of a new power group: the newly established lineages of powerful sons-in-law. The situation becomes even more complex because of the split of the Golden lineage between multiple clans of Chinggis's relatives and descendants. The formation of the “in-law” lineages (and their representation or even simple mentions in the sources) was influenced, or even determined, by their relation to the various Chinggisid subgroups.

In general, the Chinggisids continued their relations with the Baya'ut, Ikires, Olqunu'ut, Önggüd, Qarluqs, Qonggirad, and Uyghurs. The Ikires, Oyrads, Qonggirads, and Önggüds can be clearly traced throughout the whole period. All four groups clearly married into more than one Chinggisid house, and even though all of them had Ögedeid wives, they were also connected with other lineages, primarily the Toluid, but also the Jochid and Chaghadaid.³⁹ This seems to have been the reason for their survival during the bloody

³⁷ SH, 1, 57-58, §134; SWQZL, 432.

³⁸ The territories of the Western Xia were of crucial importance for Chinggis Khan to conquer the Jin, not only due to their geographical location to the west of the Jin, but also since both states were allies (see SH, 1, 196-198, §265; Biran, *Chinggis Khan*, 48-49).

³⁹ On the Qonggirads in the last decades of the United Empire see Landa, *Imperial Sons-In-Law*, 167-173; on the Oyrads see *ibid*, 179-181; on the Ikires see YS, 118, 2922; Zhang Daiyu, “Yuan dai Yiqiliesi bu fengjian lingdi zhidu tantao,” *Nei Menggu shehui kexue* 29:2 (2008), 45; cf. Cui Mingde, *Meng Yuan hongjila, woyila, yiqiliesi bu*, 111-114 and cf. Zhao, *Marriage as Political Strategy*, 119-126; on the Önggüd see YS, 118, 2924-2925; JT, 1, 71-72; cf. Zhao, *Marriage as Political Strategy*, 149-162.

Ögedeid-Toluid power transition of 1250-1251 and for the preservation of the high position of the "sons-in-law" both under Ögedeid and Toluid rule.⁴⁰

This seemingly was not the case with others. The Uyghurs, for example, suffered more. In general, their area remained under the control of their ruling lineage, and seemingly was not included in any of the four *uluses* in the beginning, but the Great Khan controlled it directly.⁴¹ Their major matrimonial partners, however, were the Ögedeids. Therefore, the Uyghurs were strongly affected by the events of 1250-1251, when Salindi, brother of Kesmes, was dismissed, tortured and executed, accused of planning to kill all Muslims in Besh Baliq.⁴² The matrimonial relations were resumed only after a few decades, when the Uyghurs became crucial for Qubilai Khan (r. 1260-1294) during his war with Qaidu.⁴³ Slightly different was the case of the Olqunu'ut, whose commanders married into the Toluids during the United Empire, but partly created relations with the Ögedeids (Qaidu) later, and thus apparently lost the support of the Toluids in general, and of Qubilai's lineage in particular.⁴⁴ The Baya'ut became an important part of the Hülegüid, thus Toluid, military in the second half of the 13th century.⁴⁵ There is still almost no information about their matrimonial relations with the Chinggisids during the times of Ögedei, Güyüg (r. 1246-1248), or Möngke. The reason for this (be it the intended silence of the sources or an abrupt decline of the tribe's status) is not clear.⁴⁶ One also

⁴⁰ On these events see Juvaynī/Boyle, *Genghis Khan*, 48–53.

⁴¹ About this see Allsen, *Uighurs of Turfan*, 248–250, also cf. *JT*, 2: 342 and *JT*, 2: 404 about the Uyghur lands administrated directly by Mahmud Yalavach and Mas'ūd Beq, the famous Mongol administrators of Khwarazmian origin.

⁴² Juvaynī/Boyle, *Genghis Khan*, 48–53 and cf. Baybars al-Mansuri, *Zubdat al-fikra fi tārikh al-hijrah*, Berlin 1998, 7.

⁴³ For the following relations between the Mongols (Yuan) and the Uyghur nobility lineages see, e.g. the famous bilingual *Yiduhu Gaochang wang shixun bei* tomb stele, which was erected in 1334 in Gansu province (*Yuan wenlei*, 26, 325–328; Geng Shimin, "Huige wen yiduhu Gaochang wang shi xun bei yanjiu," *Kaogu xuebao* 4 (1980), 515–529).

⁴⁴ The *List of Princesses* of the dynastic history includes an unnamed section, while the persons included there might indeed be seen as members of the Olqunu'ut lineages (*YS*, 109, 2762). See *JT*, 2, 383 for a remark concerning the matrimonial relations between a member of the Olqunu'ut nobility and the clan of Qaidu. Due to the scarcity of information, the final conclusion is difficult to make, but it seems that the Olqunu'ut princes were included in the *Yuanshi* records as an expression of the legitimacy of Qubilai's lineage to rule, even though they seem not to have been related to the Qubilaids at all.

⁴⁵ See, e.g., *JT*, 1, 97; *JT*, 3, 516.

⁴⁶ Later on, the Baya'uds appear shortly in the Yuan history, as the famous Empress Buluhan (卜魯罕) of Chengzong was of this tribe. As the Empress was involved in the political factional war after the death of her husband in an unsuccessful attempt to enthrone Prince Ananda as the next Yuan Emperor in 1308 and was executed later together with her protégé (see, e.g., Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing, "Mid-Yuan politics," In: *Alien Regimes and Border States, 907 – 1368*, ed. H. Franke, D. Twichett,

has to mention the marriages of Yesü Buqa [?]⁴⁷ and Signaq Tegin, the sons of the two Qarluq rulers, Arslan Khan and Ozar Khan respectively, to two Chinggisid princesses.⁴⁸ While the origin of Yesü Buqa's wife is unclear, the wife of Signaq was a daughter of Jochi Khan. All in all, these matrimonial relations seem not to have been of any great significance to the Great Khans and the influence of these sons-in-law seems to have been limited to their respective areas.⁴⁹

The sources do not often name the Chinggisid woman given to a commander or they do not mention her origin. Thus, it is often difficult to trace the changing positions of the sons-in-law in the Chinggisid clan hierarchy or to understand the "sudden" disappearances of several important tribes or families from the list of the "sons-in-law". It appears to be a rule, however, that the levirate-style marriage of a princess to another member of the same clan in the case of her husband's early death (levirate) or the marriage of a Chinggisid woman to the same clan member after the previous wife's death (sororate), both typical intermarriage traditions of the nomadic societies, indicate the continuing high position of the *güregen* clan vis-à-vis the royal court.⁵⁰ Another interesting fact should be mentioned, namely that towards the end of the

Cambridge 1994, 505–506), one wonders whether the lack of information on the Baya'ud in the Chinese sources might hint at an attempt to eradicate the memory of the factions that stood behind the losing side.

⁴⁷ I.e. Yexian Buhua 也先不花, this is a name given by the *Yuanshi* (YS, 109, 2761).

⁴⁸ YS, 109, 2761; Jamāl al-Qarshī, *Al-mulḥaqāt bi al-ṣurāḥ*, clxxix.

⁴⁹ While it seems that the lineage of the Almaliq rulers continued matrimonial relations with the Chinggisids, the identities of the princesses are not clear (cf. YS, 109, 2761 and note that Qayaliq changed hands between Qaidu and the Qubilais [M. Biran, *Qaidu and the Rise of the Independent Mongol State in Central Asia*, Richmond 1997, 22–23]). Apparently the matrimonial relations of Ozar Khan's line with the Jochids or any other Chinggisid lineage were not continued after the death of Signaq in 1251/1252 [Jamāl al-Qarshī, *Al-mulḥaqāt bi al-ṣurāḥ*, clxxix]. A partial explanation might be the fact that Qayaliq appeared under the Ögedeid control after the split of the United Empire and at least the Jochid relations with the area were broken (Biran, *Qaidu*, 20 and passim).

⁵⁰ Note, e.g., the Ikires (YS, 118, 2922–2923), the Olqunu'ut (JT, 1, 87) and the Önggüd (YS, 118: 2924, cf. JT, 1, 71) cases; also see I. Landa, "Oirats in the Ilkhanate and the Mamluk Sultanate in the Thirteenth to the Early Fifteenth Centuries: Two Cases of Assimilation into the Muslim Environment," *Mamluk Studies Review* 19 (2016), 156–157 for the levirate and sororate marriages on the example of the Oyirads in Mongol Eurasia. For further discussion on the levirate and sororate marriages under the Mongols (and primarily later under the Yuan), see P. Ratchnevsky, "The levirate in the legislation of the Yüan-Dynasty," In: *Tamura Hakushi shōju Tōyōshi ronsō*, Kyoto 1968, 45–62; J. Homgren, "Observations on Marriage and Inheritance Practices in Early Mongol and Yüan Society, with Particular Reference to the Levirate," *Journal of Asian History* 20:2 (1986), 127–192; cf. B. Birge, "Levirate Marriage and the Revival of Widow Chastity in Yuan China," *Asia Major* 8:2 (1995), 107–146; H. Ser-ryus, "Remains of Mongol Customs in China during the Early Ming Period," *Monumenta Serica* 16:1–2 (1957), 171–190.

United Empire period, and especially after the Ögedeid-Toluid transition of power, new tribal partners were chosen by the Golden *urugh*. For example, the Kerayit Choqbal Güregen, a supporter of Möngke in his war against the Ögedeids, suddenly became a son-in-law of the Great Khan.⁵¹ At the same time, another *güregen* from the Hushin, Tuqchi, appears, who was seemingly closely related to the Toluids.⁵² Both these marriages exemplify the need for the newly established Toluid rule to consolidate itself in the early 1250s.⁵³

To complete the picture, we have to mention the three known cases in which the Chinggisids raised non-Mongolian or non-submitted Turkic rulers to the status of *güregens* after 1227, and thus formally included them into their extended blood clan: the Tibetans, the Armenians, and the Rus. Marriage relations with the Tibetans were still created under Güyüg and with the Ögedeids (Köden, second son of Ögedei) during the Mongol invasion of Western Tibet, when Köden promised to give his own daughter to the younger brother of Phags-pa, the powerful Tibetan mentor of Qubilai, and apparently fulfilled the promise.⁵⁴ Following the Ögedeid-Toluid transition and the civil war inside the Toluid camp, the reestablishment of this Tibetan lineage's status as "son-in-law", which entailed the status of princes, took place around 1265.⁵⁵ The very fact that this strategy was applied is interesting, as the Mongols did not use it everywhere.⁵⁶ The two other peculiar cases, which occurred during the United Empire, involve the Armenians and the Rus. While in the second case the mar-

⁵¹ JT, 2, 406.

⁵² JT, 1, 93; JT, 2, 273, 461.

⁵³ This pattern also continued after 1260 and is to be found throughout Mongol Eurasia. Thus, under the Yuan one suddenly finds Merkid and the Qipchaq sons-in-law, while in the Ilkhanate the Jalayirids were awarded the position of one of the major son-in-law clans of the Hülegüids. For the Yuan case see, for example YS, 32: 721 and YS, 34: 763 (the Merkid), as well as YS, 128: 3133–3134 and the *Tomb Inscription of the Achievements of the Prince of the Second Degree Jurong's Family* 句容郡王世績碑 (the Qipchaq) (*Yuan wenlei*, 26, 328–335); for the Jalayirs under the Hülegüids see, e.g., P. Wing, *The Jalayirids: Dynastic State Formation in the Mongol Middle East*. Edinburgh 2016, esp. 63–73.

⁵⁴ L. Petech, "Tibetan Relations with Song China and with the Mongols," In: *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and its Neighbors, 10th–14th Centuries*, ed. M. Rossabi, Berkeley 1983, 182.

⁵⁵ On the Mongol-Tibetan marriages, see L. Petech, "Princely Houses of the Yüan Period Connected with Tibet," In: *Indo-Tibetan Studies: Papers in Honour and Appreciation of Professor David L. Snellgrove's Contribution to Indo-Tibetan Studies*, ed. T. Skorupski, Tring 1990, 257–269; for a general discussion on the Mongol-Tibet relations see K.-H. Everding, "The Mongol States and their Struggle for Dominance over Tibet in the 13th Century," In: *Tibet, Past and Present*, ed. H. Blezer, Leiden 2002, 109–128.

⁵⁶ The discussion of this issue is beyond the limits of this paper. Nevertheless, this usage of the continuous "in-law" policy in the Tibetan case possibly reflects the strategic importance of these marriages for establishing control of the Tibetan areas.

riages were established with the Jochids, not the Toluids (and in the first one this is disputable but not impossible), these marriages should probably be seen more as tools used by the Sarai authorities, and not by the Qaraqorum authorities, in order to achieve the specific strategic aims of the Jochids in the western areas. Thus, we are not going to delve further into this matter.⁵⁷

The status of the imperial sons-in-law at the Chinggisids' courts and in the history of Mongol Eurasia should be reconsidered. The *güregens* remained mainly in control of their own tribal armies; they obtained their own appanages and held positions on the same level as the princes of blood, the born Chinggisids, in the Mongol political and military hierarchy. From the very beginning of the Chinggisid's rise to power, the establishment of matrimonial relations was in use, but it was mainly regarding the enthronement of Temüjin as the Great Khan that the *güregens* appear in the sources on the same level as his *nökers* and his *keshig*. Of the utmost importance is the fact that the *güregens* (almost) never appear to be *nökers*, a part of *keshig*, or a part of the imperial administration.⁵⁸ They were clearly a semi-autonomous part of the military with their own mainly hereditary transmitted rights to marry into the Golden lineage. With time, and especially after the disintegration of the United Empire, the sons-in-law became one of the most powerful political institutions of Mongol rule in Eurasia, from Iran to China, the history of the Chinggisid *uluses* in many cases becoming the history of the rises and falls of the *güregen* lineages.

⁵⁷ These issues are again beyond the scope of this paper. Two major marriages still have to be mentioned: that of Smbat, brother of the Cilician king He'um I, who apparently married a Chinggisid princess during his visit of the Mongols in the late 1240s (for this see, e.g., *History of the Nation of the Archers (The Mongols)* by Grigor of Akanc' Hitherto Ascribed to Mazak'ia the Monk, transl. by R. P. Blake, R. N. Frye, Cambridge 1954, 45–47), and the marriage of *knyaz* Gleb Vasil'kovich of Belozero and Rostov, who married a daughter of Sartaq in 1257 (for this see, e.g., M. D. Prisel'kov, *Troitskaia letopis*, Moscow 1950, 325–326). Note the discussion among the researchers whether Smbat indeed ever reached Qaraqorum (see the discussion in B. Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians (1220–1335)*, Leiden 2011, 81–83). Note also the marriage of the Armenian nobleman Awag, who was given a “Mongol wife” by Ögedei himself following his submission to Chormagan in 1236. It is not clear, however, whether this wife was a princess, but it does not seem so from the Armenian sources (cf. Dashdondog, *Mongols and Armenians*, 74).

⁵⁸ Cf. Atwood in his *Ulus Emirs, Keshig Elders*, 160–161 on this principle. There is, however, a very strange case of Subedei Bahadur, the famous Mongol commander of the Uriangqai tribe, who was, according to the *Yuanshi*, given a princess by Ögedei in 1229/1230 (YS, 121, 2977). The name of the princess is given as Tumiegan 秃滅干, but neither her origin nor any other details can be found. This marriage, if it did take place, certainly indicates an extremely special standing of Subedei at that time at the court of the Great Khan. At the same time, this could also indicate that the sources might have “ignored” a number of important marriages for multiple reasons.

RECONSIDERING THE CHINGGISIDS' SONS-IN-LAWS...

Moreover, the *güregens* played one of the crucial roles in the crisis of the mid-14th century, as a result of which two of the four Chinggisid Khanates collapsed and two others went through earth-breaking transformations. This issue remains, however, beyond the limits of this short paper.

*The Eleven Queens' Qoś Ordos and the Imperial Ancestral Sacrifice under the Mongol-Yuan Dynasty**

XIAOLIN MA¹



*This paper collects the Chinese sources and depicts the Qoś Ordo as a form of Ordo under the Mongol-Yuan Dynasty, referring to the ordos administrated by the deceased emperors' widowed queens. After the widows' death, their ordos were inherited by other imperial female members. The institution of Qoś Ordo took its origin in Chinggis Qan's Four Great Ordos; it experienced an evolution from the steppe to North China in the mid-13th century, probably under Qublai's reign. By the end of the Yuan Dynasty during the mid-14th century, the Chinese sources attested to Eleven Queens' Ordos. This paper argues that the Eleven should be identified with the eleven deceased Mongol emperors who were worshipped in imperial rituals, which indicates not only the Chinese influenced the Imperial Ancestral Temple (太廟), but also the Mongolian traditional sacrificial ritual (Mong. *tūleši*).*

As is well attested, an *ordo/orða* 'imperial encampment' with its property, subjects and troops, served as the political, economic, and cultural core of the Mongols. The ritual of the *tūleši* sacrifice, called in Chinese the *Shaofan* 燒飯 or 'food-burning', to worship the ancestors has been considered to be one of the most significant nomadic rituals.² However, very little attention has been paid to the relevance between the *ordo* and the *tūleši* until the recent papers pub-

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² For an introduction of classic and recent researches in Chinese, see Liu Xiao 劉曉, *Yuan History Studies* 元史研究, Fuzhou 2006, 184–185. A most recent study, see Liu Pujiang 劉浦江, "A Study on Qitan Custom of Immolating Human Victims: also on the *Shaofan* custom under the Liao, Jin and Yuan," 契丹人殉制研究——兼論遼金元“燒飯”之俗 *Wenshi*《文史》2012:2, 179–205.

lished by Gao Rongsheng.³ The fact has been pointed out that a form of *ordo*, namely the *Qoš-ordo* or a Queen's Ordo, was closely related to the *tüleši* sacrifice. This paper aims to discuss the origin and evolution of the *Qoš-ordo*, how it became the Eleven Queens' Ordos, and their combination with the *tüleši* sacrifice, especially in light of several newly found Chinese texts.

1. The qoš in the Middle Mongolian and Chinese sources

In *The Secret History of the Mongols* (in the following, *SHM*), we find both the forms *qoš* and *qošiliq*. The form *qoš* in the *SHM* §169 is translated into Chinese as *Fangzi* 房子 'tent/house/ger'. When Badai and Qišliq, two horse herders from the Kereid tribe, decided to inform Temüjin (Činggis Qan) about Ong Qan's conspiracy, that evening they killed one of their lambs in their *qoš* and cooked it, and then mounted and set off. The form *qošiliq* in *SHM* §80, 245, 246 is translated as *Zhangfang* 帳房, which means the same as *qoš*. In §80, when Temüjin escaped from Tayiči'ut's pursuit into a thicket on the Tergüne Heights, he spent six days inside and wanted to get out. He found that a white rock the size of a tent (*qošiliq-un tedüi*) fell at the entrance of the thicket, blocking the way.⁴

As indicated by Radloff, Poppe and Róna-Tas, *qoš* is a word of Turkic origin, meaning a temporary dwelling, travel-tent, a conical pole-tent with a felt cover.⁵ In pre-classical Mongolian, *qošiliq* is a derivation; the suffix *-liq* was also copied from Turkic.⁶ The difference between *qoš* and *qošiliq*, as proposed by

³ Gao Rongsheng 高榮盛, "Three Remarks on the Sacrificial Rituals during the Yuan period," 元代祭禮三題 *Journal of Nanjing University*《南京大學學報》2000:6, 73–82. Idem., "The *qoš* and *kešig/qoja/nü-hai-er* during the Yuan period," 元代 '火室' 與怯薛/火者/女孩兒 in his *Yuanshi Qianshi*《元史淺識》, Nanjing 2010, 69–98. Idem., "Again on the institution of the succession of the palace during the Yuan period," 元代守宮制再議 *Yuanshi Luncong*《元史論叢》14 (2014), 1–10.

⁴ *The Secret History of The Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, trans. & annot. Igor de Rachewiltz, Leiden 2004, Vol.1, 88, 173–174, 23. *Secret History of the Mongols: A Textual Critical Edition* (*Yuanchao Mishi Jiaokanben*)《元朝秘史（校勘本）》ed. Ula'an, 烏蘭, Beijing 2012, 177, 327, 49.

⁵ Nicholas Poppe, "The Turkic Loan Words in Middle Mongolian," *Central Asiatic Journal* 1 (1955), 36–42, esp. 40–41. András Róna-Tas, "Preliminary Report on a Study of the Dwellings of Altaic Peoples," In: Denis Sinor ed., *Aspects of Altaic Civilization: Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference Held at Indiana University, June 4–9, 1962*, Bloomington 1963, 50. Wilhelm Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuch der Türk Dialekte*, Vol. 2, The Hague 1960, 635–636, cited by Murakami Masatsugu's 村上正二 Japanese translation and annotation of the *Secret History of The Mongols* モンゴル秘史, Vol. 2, Tokyo 1972, 119–120. I would like to thank Dr. Bayarma Khabtagaeva and Dr. Balázs Danko for drawing me deeply into the Turkic origin issue.

⁶ On the *-liq*, see Even Hovdhaugen, "The Mongolian suffix *-lig* and its Turkic origin," In: *Researches in Altaic languages*, ed. Louis Ligeti, Budapest 1975, 71–78.

Igor de Rachewiltz, seems to be that the latter had a regular smoke-hole (*erüge*).⁷ The question remains unresolved, as neither *qoš* nor *qošiliq* has been commonly used in Mongolian since the 17th century, except for in the Kalmük and modern Ordos dialects.⁸

In the *SHM* §245-246, after Teb Tengri the shaman was killed by breaking his backbone, Činggis Qan had a grey *qošiliq* brought and placed over his body, and then fastened the harness to the carts and moved on from there. This can be explained by the Mongols' taboo on the site of a death,⁹ as the *Yuan Shi* related: "As long as an emperor or empress was struck by fatal disease, presumably incurable, he or she will move out to another tent. Upon his or her decease, the tent is used as the mortuary. After the burial, the Shaofan (*tüleši*) sacrifice with sheep was performed twice a day, until the forty-ninth day" (凡帝后有疾危殆, 度不可愈, 亦移居外氊帳房。有不諱, 則就殯殮其中。葬後, 每日用羊二次燒飯以為祭, 至四十九日而後已).¹⁰

In this sense, a close link existed between the *qoš/qošiliq* tent and the Mongols' funeral customs along with the *tüleši* sacrifice.

The 13th-14th century Chinese sources attested *qoš* by combining the transcription and translation in forms like *Huoshi fangzi* 火室房子 'Huoshi tent', *Heshi fangzi* 禾失房子 'Heshi tent', or *Huoshi zhanfang* 火失氈房 'Huoshi felt tent'. The word *qoš* probably became a specific term under the Yuan Dynasty (1260-1368). As is widely known, the Yuan Dynasty established two capital cities: Shangdu 上都 or Xanadu 'upper capital' in modern Inner Mongolia and Qanbalıq or Dadu 大都 'great capital', i.e. modern Beijing. In a Chinese poem on a serial theme in the Yuan capital Shangdu by Yang Yunfu 楊允孚, who lived in the late Yuan period, he praised the Deceased Emperors' concubines' *qoš* encampments that arrived at Luanyang (Shangdu) in advance [of the Emperor] according to the imperial decree (先帝妃嬪火失房, 前期承旨達灤陽), and remarked that the *qoš* encampments were the palace-carriages (or movable palaces) of the deceased emperors' queens and concubines(火失氈房, 乃累朝后妃之宮車也).¹¹

Yang's contemporary Xiong Mengxiang (熊夢祥), a literate who lived in the suburb of Dadu, compiled the *Xijinzhı* (析津志), a gazetteer of the Dadu area that preserved amazingly valuable and abundant information about the Mongol-Yuan court. However, the original volume was lost after the 15th century, except for citations by Chinese authors in the 14th and 15th centuries, especially the famous encyclopedic cannon *Yongle Dadian* (永樂大典), compiled by the order of Emperor Yongle (r. 1402-1424). In the 1980s, in the National Library of

⁷ de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of The Mongols*, Vol.2, 374, 885.

⁸ G. J. Ramstedt, *Kalmückische Wörterbuch*, Helsinki 1925, 189. A. Mostaert, *Dictionnaire Ordos*, Peking 1941, 308.

⁹ de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of The Mongols* Vol.1, 173-174, Vol.2, 885-886.

¹⁰ *Yuan Shi*《元史》, chap. 77, Beijing 1976, 1925.

¹¹ Yang Yunfu, 楊允孚 *Various Poems on Luanjing*, 《灤京雜詠》chap. 1, Zhibuzuzhai Congshu edition 知不足齋叢書, f.4a.

China in Peking, scholars attempted to reconstruct *Xijin zhi* by collecting these citations. The result is a volume of more than 200 pages, where one can find the following important entry: "The Qoš tents are the palaces handed down by the old Queens of the former Emperors. The position per se sets forth first, and the subject officials follow. The word *qoš* in the State Language (Mongolian) means that as ever after Emperor Shizu (Qubilai Qa'an), all the positions of the queens are inherited, in charge of the Palace Sacrifice, administrating an *ordo* and its *kešigten* (guards) and girls, and receiving provision yearly without deficiency" (火室房子, 即累朝老皇后傳下宮分者。先起本位, 下官從行。國言火室者, 謂如世祖皇帝以次俱承襲皇后職位, 奉宮祭, 管一幹耳朵, 怯薛、女孩兒, 關請歲給不闕).¹²

Hence, we can conclude that a *qoš* is a form of *ordo*, which specifically refers to the *ordo* that is inherited by a female from a deceased emperor's queen. The *qoš* encampments constitute a group of Queens' *ordos*. The household members are *kešigten* (guards) and girls. A *qoš* receives *suici* (歲賜), a 'yearly provision', from the dynasty in the same way as a prince. It should be noted that the Palace Sacrifice (宮祭), 'ordo Sacrifice', refers to the *tüleši* sacrifice to the ancestors.

2. The origin of the qoš institution: the sacrifice in Činggis Qan's Ordos

For the Mongols, there were two types of imperial sacrifices to Činggis Qan. The first type was witnessed by John of Plano Carpini, who reported: "They (the Mongols) have also made the idol of the first Emperor (Činggis Qan) which they have placed in a cart in a place of honour before a dwelling, as we saw before the present Emperor (Küyük Qan)'s court, and they offer many gifts to it."¹³

The idol of felt made in the image of a man, or later in the form of a portrait, was called *Ongyun* in Mongolian, and *Xiaoying* (小影) 'small portrait' or *Xiaoyingshen* (小影神) 'small portrait of idol' in the Chinese texts. The idol was placed inside a tent to be worshipped every day.¹⁴

The second type should be considered to be more important. When Činggis died in 1227, mourning was held each day in a different camp (*ordo*). When the news reached the nearby places and distant sites, every several days ladies and princes arrived from every direction to hold mourning.¹⁵ The Ordos became the major place to perform sacrificial rituals to Činggis, especially considering

¹² *Xijin Zhi Jiyi*《析津志輯佚》, Beijing 1983; 2nd edition 2001, 217–218.

¹³ C. Dawson, *The Mongol Mission: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, New York 1955, 9.

¹⁴ See Shang Gang, 尚剛 "Imperial Portraits of the Yuan Dynasty," 元朝御容 *Journal of the Palace Museum*《故宮博物院院刊》2004:3, 31–59, also in his *Guwu Xinzhi*《古物新知》, Beijing 2012, 170–209.

¹⁵ Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami u t-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles. A History of the Mongols*, trans. & annot. W. M. Thackston, Harvard 1998, 264.

that the Mongols were customarily buried secretly without a visible tomb. A Japanese-Mongolian joint archaeologist team excavated the Avraga ruin along the upper Kerülen river. A lot of horse and ox bones were unearthed beside a huge construction base of 30 meters in length. According to the C14 analysis, Professor Shiraishi Noriyuki has identified it as a temple for sacrifices to Činggis, which was built during Ögedei's reign and was rebuilt during end of the 13th and early 14th centuries.¹⁶ As Rashīd al-Dīn accounted: "The four great *ordos* and another five, making in nine in all, are there. [...] They have made images of them and constantly burn incense and aromatics. Kamala (son of Qubilai) has also made a temple for himself there."¹⁷

Hence, the Avraga site should be a major residence of Činggis Qan's four great *ordos* during the summer and autumn.

The great Qa'ans of the Mongol Empire before Qubilai Qa'an usually resided in the land of Onan-Kerülen every autumn when princes and *qatuns* came together to join a *quriltai* or meeting and made traditional sacrifice rituals, which stood for the legitimacy and rule of the Empire. As Činggis was born, enthroned and buried around that territory, his four great *ordos* remained there. The sacrifice combined with his four great *ordos* defines the most important ritual of the Činggis cult.

Ever after Qubilai was enthroned, the ruling centre of the Empire moved south to North China. Considering the fact that Qubilai himself merely stepped on the land of Onan-Kerülen again, the geo-political structure, and the institution of *ordos* and sacrifice changed.

3. The appearance of qoš under Qubilai Qa'an's Reign

From the 1260s to the 1270s, Qubilai Qa'an established the two capitals of the Yuan Empire. The Qa'an himself could not carry out the sacrifices to Činggis in Onan-Kerülen, the residence of Činggis' Four Great Ordos. Thus, he created a new type of sacrifice in Shangdu, called the *Wangji* (望祭) 'looking afar and performing sacrifices', the ritual of which was described by Zhou Boqi (周伯琦) (1298-1369): "Every 7th or 9th July, the Emperor and Empress both dress in pure colored clothes, and perform sacrifices towards the Graveyard in the far north by sprinkling mare milk wine. All the participants are nobles' descendants." (國朝歲以七月七日或九日，天子與后素服，望祭北方陵園，奠馬酒，執事者皆世臣子弟).¹⁸

¹⁶ Shiraishi Noriyuki, 白石典之 "The Origins of the Shrine of Chingis Khan," チングス=ハーン廟の源流 *Toyoshi Kenkyu* 東洋史研究 63:4, 2005, 847-866. Idem., "Avraga Site: The 'Great Ordu' of Gengghis Khan," In: *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, ed. L. Komaroff, Leiden 2006, 83-93.

¹⁷ Thackston, *Compendium of Chronicles*, 464.

¹⁸ Zhou Boqi, 周伯琦 *Jinguan Ji* 近光集, chap. 2 "Five Narrative Poems on the first day of Autumn" 立秋日書事五首 In: *Siku Quanshu*, Taipei, rpt. vol. 1214, 523.

The first known witness of this type of ritual is Yan Guangda (嚴光大), a former official of the Song Dynasty. The Song Imperial family, chancellors, and officials surrendered in 1276 and were ordered by Qubilai to move from the Song capital Hangzhou (杭州) to Shangdu. Yan Guangda was one of them. He recorded their itinerary as follows: "On the 22nd day [of April] [...] [we] arrived at Shangdu [...]. On the 30th day, the [Yuan's] Military Academy (樞密院) invited the [Song's] Imperial Dowager, the young Emperor, Prince Fu and the chancellors, officials, servants and eunuchs to go out of the west gate [of Shangdu] and worship the Imperial Ancestral Temple towards the north. On the 1st of May, in the morning, 5 *li* away outside the west gate, [...] a purple fabric *Fúsi* (紫錦罽毼) was set up in the north, which is the ancestral temple. [All] genuflected to kowtow twice. [...] Another person spoke in front of the *Fúsi* and genuflected to kowtow twice and then withdrew."¹⁹

Here, the *Fúsi* can be identified as an *ordo*, as Professor Chen Gaohua (陳高華) correctly pointed out, but without explanation.²⁰ It should be noted that *Fúsi* in Chinese means net, screen, or a type of net-shaped architecture, none of which are related to the *ordo*. In fact, *Fú* (罽) is described in the 'Phagspa script as *hwow* /vɔw/, which could easily be confused with guttural /hɔw/ or velar /xɔw/ or /ɣɔw/ in some southeastern Chinese dialects, which were probably spoken by Yan Guangda.²¹ Thus *Fúsi* can be identified with *qoš*. Yan Guangda's description of a person who spoke in front of the *Fúsi* probably indicates a shaman performing prayers to the ancestors. The *qoš* turned out to be the carrier of the sacrifice to the ancestors. This function of the *qoš* appeared only under Qubilai's reign, perhaps because Činggis' Four Great Ordos could not be moved from Mongolia to North China.

4. Which Eleven?

It is widely known that, according to the Mongols' state custom, the *ordo* of a deceased Mongol emperor was never empty; queens or concubines keep charge of it in turn (國制，列聖賓天，其帳不曠，以后妃當次者世守之).²² In theory, all the Mongol emperors' *ordos* remained to be inherited. During the reign of Shundi (順帝), a.k.a. Toyan Temür, the last emperor of the Yuan Dy-

¹⁹ Yan Guangda, "Itinerary of the embassy suing for peace," 祈請使行程記 in *Qiantang Yishi*《錢塘遺事》ed. Liu Yiqing, 劉一清 chap. 9, the Wulin Zhanggu Congbian edition, f. 13b-15a. There is a rather brief correspondence, see *Yuan Shi* chap. 9, 182.

²⁰ Chen Gaohua and Shi Weimin, 史衛民 *Studies on Dadu and Shangdu of the Yuan*,《元大都上都研究》, Beijing 2010, 229-230.

²¹ For the words 火 *hwo* /xwɔ/ and 禾 *xwo* /ɣwɔ/, see W. South Coblin, *A Handbook of Phags-pa Chinese*, Honolulu 2007, 162, 170.

²² Xu Youren, 許有壬 *Zhizheng Ji*《至正集》chap. 46, the Yuanren Wenji Zhenben Congkan 元人文集珍本叢刊 edition, 223.

nasty, the *Eleven Palaces* (十一宮), *Eleven Houses* (十一室), and *Eleven Queens' Ordos* (十一室皇后斡耳朵) were recorded in the *Xijin Zhi*.²³ Until now, no satisfactory explanation on the number eleven has been presented.

According to the Chinese texts of the mid-14th century, the *De'eji Ordo* 'primary encampment' is primary among the *Queens' Ordos* (迭只則又序于諸帳之上者焉).²⁴ An office was established to supervise the subjected population and economy under the *De'eji Ordo*.²⁵ In terms of the military, three generations of officials, *Taču* (塔出), his son *Sarman* (撒里蠻), and his grandson *Tegüder* (帖古迭兒) held the post of *Chiliarchy of De'eji Ordo* (迭只斡耳朵千戶) on a hereditary basis. The post probably could be dated from the early reign of Qubilai Qa'an.²⁶ This paper assumes that the *De'eji Ordo* can be identified with Yan Guangda's *Fúsi* in 1276. It served as the place of worshipping Činggis. During Qubilai's reign, the *De'eji Ordo* was probably in the charge of Qubilai's queens or concubines. It was once called *Shizu's Queen's De'eji Ordo* (世祖皇后迭只斡耳朵),²⁷ but this should not be confused with the *Shizu Ordo* (世祖斡耳朵), referring to Qubilai's bequeathed ordo, as Xiong Mengxiang's *Xijin Zhi* clearly lists the *De'eji Ordo* and *Shizu Ordo* separately.²⁸

Činggis held four *ordos*, as did Möngke and Qubilai. However, it is not confirmed whether or not every Yuan Emperor after Qubilai had four *ordos*, as Emperor Wuzong or Qaišan Qa'an (r. 1307-1311) seemed to have five *ordos*.²⁹ No matter how many *ordos* each emperor had, I argue that, as for the eleven *qoš*, each *ordo* refers to one emperor, not queen. The best evidence comes from the sacrifice rituals. The Yuan Dynasty made sacrifices to the ancestors according to the rules of both the Chinese traditional Imperial Ancestral Temple and the traditional nomadic *qoš ordo*. During the time of Emperor Shundi, there were eleven deceased emperors in the Imperial Ancestral Temple: Taizu 太祖 (Činggis Qan), Ruizong 睿宗 (Tolui), Shizu 世祖 (Qubilai), Yuzong 裕宗 (Jingim), Shunzong 順宗 (Darmabala), 成宗 (Temür), Wuzong 武宗 (Qaišan), Renzong 仁宗 (Ayurbarbata), Yingzong 英宗 (Šidbala), Mingzong 明宗 (Qošla), Ningzong 寧宗 (Irinjinbal).³⁰ At the same time, there were eleven *qoš ordos*. This is not a coincidence. Thus, the *Eleven Queens' Ordos* actually refer to the eleven deceased emperors.

²³ *Xinjin Zhi Jiyi*, 216.

²⁴ Xu Youren, 223; Gao Rongsheng, 2014, 3-4.

²⁵ *Yuan Shi*, chap. 89, 怯憐口諸色民匠達魯花赤並管領上都納綿提舉司, 2271-2272.

²⁶ Taču, son of Sirgis, was the first Chiliarchy of the *De'eji Ordo*. Taču's son Sarman inherited the post sometime after Qubilai defeated Ariq böge. After Sarman died during Temür Qa'an's Reign, his son Tegüder inherited as Chiliarchy of *De'eji Ordo*. See *Yuan Shi*, Chap. 122, "Biography of Sirgis," 昔兒吉思 3015-3016.

²⁷ Xu Youren, 223-225.

²⁸ *Xijin Zhi Jiyi*, 106.

²⁹ *Yuan Shi*, chap. 90, 2290.

³⁰ See Ma Xiaolin, 馬曉林 "On the Imperial Ancestral Temple of the Yuan Dynasty," 元朝太廟演變考——以室次為中心 *Historical Researches*《歷史研究》2013:5, 67-82.

5. The *tüleši* sacrifice and the *qoš ordos*

An important function of the *qoš ordos* is to perform the *tüleši* sacrifice. The *Yuan Shi* reports: "Each year, during the ninth month and after the 16th day in the twelfth month, inside the Shaofan Yuan '*tüleši* yard', with one horse, three sheep, mare milk wine, rice wine, three pieces of red *nasij* and silk textiles, under the decree a Mongol tarqan (達官), along with a Mongol shaman, digs a hole into the earth to burn out meats, rice wine and mare milk wine. The shaman calls out the deceased emperors' names in State language and performs the sacrifice"

(每歲，九月內及十二月十六日以後，於燒飯院中，用馬一，羊三，馬湏，酒醴，紅織金幣及裏絹各三匹，命蒙古達官一員，偕蒙古巫覡，掘地為坎以燎肉，仍以酒醴、馬湏雜燒之。巫覡以國語呼累朝御名而祭焉).³¹

The *Xijin Zhi* provides more details in the entry of the *tüleši* yard: "Shaofan Yuan '*tüleši* yard': [It lies] south of *Penglai Fang*. From the east gate turning to the west, there is the red gate of the south yard. Each has a tree and an altar for performing sacrifice. Inside the yard, there are no buildings, but dozens of pine and cypress trees, luxuriant and tall, just like the emotion of pathos. In the west of the fences and walls is the Shaofan Red Gate, which is the sacred gate for the Eleven Queens to pass through to perform the *tüleši*. Nobody dares to go through, as there are soldiers guarding it. On every occasion of sacrifice, one from the inner palace rides with wine and sacrificial offerings, and goes into the yard to perform the *tüleši*. Male and female shamans pray in the State Language, sprinkling all the milk wines, and burning the sacrificial meat with fire. The prayers are quite detailed. Before, the Shaofan yard was in south of the Haizi bridge which is now abandoned as an official sacrificial yard" (燒飯園 在蓬萊坊南。由東門又轉西，即南園紅門，各有所主祭之樹、壇位。其園內無殿宇，惟松柏成行，數十株森郁，宛然若高棲愴之意。闕與牆西有燒飯紅門者，乃十一室之神門，來往燒飯之所由，無人敢行往，有軍人把守。每祭，則自內庭騎從酒物呵從攜持祭物，於內燒飯。師婆以國語祝祈，遍灑湏酪酒物。以火燒所祭之肉，而祝語甚詳。先，燒飯園在海子橋南，今廢為官祭場).³²

The eleven *qoš ordos* resided in an area to the east of Yanchunge (延春閣), north inside the Donghua Gate (東華門) of the palace in Dadu city. The *qoš* crew went from the inner palace to the Shaofan yard to perform the sacrifice. The combination of a hole, a tree, and an altar in the sacrificial site is absent in any Chinese rituals, thus it must represent the nomadic tradition.

The *Yuan Shi* attests two dates for the sacrifice in the *tüleši* yard of Dadu. The 17th century Mongolian *White History* (Mong. *Arban buyan-tu nom-un čayan*

³¹ *Yuan Shi*, chap. 77, 1924.

³² *Xijin Zhi Jiyi*, 115.

teüke) accounted four dates for the sacrifice to Činggis: 21st of the third month, 16th of the fifth month, 12th of the ninth month, and 3rd of the eleventh month.³³ The 12th of the ninth month could correspond to the 16th day in the twelfth month in the *tüleši* yard of Dadu. The last date each year to perform the *tüleši* according to the old custom of the modern Ordos region is on the 29th of the twelfth month near the Činggis Temple,³⁴ and still for many areas in Mongolia today this is before New Year's Day,³⁵ which both perfectly correspond to after the 16th day in the twelfth month in the *tüleši* yard of Dadu. As is widely known, a Yuan emperor would stay in Dadu from about the ninth to the first month, and in Shangdu from about the second to the eighth month each year. Thus, it can be assumed that during the emperor's stay in Shangdu, the *tüleši* was performed twice, once in the third month and another time in the fifth month. The earliest *tüleši* sacrifice in *SHM* §70 was performed by the Mongols in the spring (see below), which agrees with the third month. The fifth month in Yan Guangda's narrative as mentioned above probably reflects a matter of routine in Shangdu. Added up with the two dates in Dadu, the *tüleši* sacrifice was performed four times each year during the Yuan period.

The earliest account of the Mongols performing the *tüleši* sacrifice is preserved in *SHM* §70. After Yisügei died, that spring, when Örbei and Soqatai, the wives of Ambaqai Qa'an, went to perform the sacrifice to the ancestors (*yekes-e qaǰaru inerü qaruqsan*), Lady Hö'elün arrived late and she was left out of the sacrificial meal.³⁶ While scholars have long debated the meaning of *yekes-e qaǰaru inerü*, the most satisfactory explanation so far by Igor de Rachewiltz is that the two words *qaǰaru inerü* might constitute the beginning of the invocation made at the ceremony.³⁷ Nevertheless, as the *SHM* itself translates the term as *Shaofan*, there seems to be no doubt about identifying it with the *tüleši* sacrifice, described in the form of *tülešilen* (土烈食連) in the *SHM*, §161 and §177. It is an astonishing fact that all the performers Örbei, Soqatai and Hö'elün were widows, which forms a parallel to the widowed queens in the Eleven Qoś Ordos. Besides this, the fact that Örbei, Soqatai, and Hö'elün had to go somewhere away from their camps also corresponds to the fact that the widowed

³³ Q. Č. Qongtaiji, *Arban buyan-tu nom-un čayan teüke*. Hohhot 2000. A Chinese translation by Wu Bochun 吳柏春 and Baoyin 鮑音, In: *Journal of the Minzu Normal College of Inner Mongolia* 《內蒙古民族師院學報》1988–4, 39.

³⁴ Erdentai 額爾登泰, Oyun Dalai 烏雲達賚 and Asaraltu 阿薩拉圖, *Selected Lexicon of the Secret History of the Mongols* 《〈蒙古秘史〉詞彙選釋》, Hohhot 1980, 108.

³⁵ Naran Gerel, 娜仁格日勒 *Innate Character and Cultural Connotation of Mongolian Ancestor Worship*.《蒙古族祖先崇拜的固有特徵及其文化蘊涵》 Hohhot 2006, 104–105.

³⁶ de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, Vol.1, 17.

³⁷ de Rachewiltz, "The expression *qaǰaru inerü* in Paragraph 70 of *The Secret History of the Mongols*", In: *Indo-Sino-Tibetica: Studi in onore di Luciano Petech*, ed. P. Daffinà, Rome 1990, 283–290. de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, Vol.1, 341–344.

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queens in the Eleven Qoš Ordos needed to leave their residence inside the palace city to visit the *tüleši* yard.

It is worthy of note that as the Qoš Ordos followed the emperor each year travelling between Shangdu and Dadu, the widowed queens would perform the *tüleši* in Shangdu twice each year, though the actual site is unknown to us.

Conclusion

To sum up, the *Qoš Ordo* as a form of *Ordo* under the Mongol-Yuan Dynasty refers to the *ordo* administrated by a deceased emperor's widowed queen, whose one important task was to perform the *tüleši* sacrifice to the imperial ancestors. This tradition was already being carried out by Mongolian noble widows in the earliest times. The institution of *Qoš Ordo* originates directly from Činggis Qan's Four Great Ordos serving as the carrier of the sacrifice and was adopted from the steppe to North China in the mid-13th century with the adoption of the Turkic term *qoš*, probably under Qublai's reign. By the end of the Yuan Dynasty during the mid-14th century, the Chinese sources described the *Eleven Queens' Ordos*, which should be identified with the eleven deceased Mongol emperors who were worshipped not only in the Imperial Ancestral Temple under Chinese influence, but also in the Mongolian traditional *tüleši* sacrifice. It is noteworthy that the latter was performed by the members of the *Qoš Ordos*, and the specific rituals and dates can be confirmed by the *Secret History of the Mongols*, by the 17th century *White History*, and even by modern Mongolian customs, which prove to be a permanent cultural tradition of the Mongols.

The Title “khagan” in Old Slavic Traditions

VLADIMIR PETRUKHIN*



The term “khagan” as the title of Rus’ Prince was mentioned by Eastern and Latin sources in the 9th–10th centuries. In the 11th–12th centuries, the term khagan definitely refers to the Russian Princes Vladimir, the Baptist of Rus’, and his son Yaroslav the Wise. This title was given in Hilarion’s “Sermon on Law and Grace” (the first half of the 11th century). In “Igor Tale” (12th century), the title khagan refers to the representatives of the princely family in Chernigov, claiming authority over the territories from Middle Dnieper to Tmutorokan (former lands of the Khazar khaganate). Tsevetlin Stepanov demonstrated a similar situation in Danubiane Bulgaria. Bulgaria could be heir of the Avar Khaganate, but Bulgarian rulers did not claim to the title, because Avar lands were subject to the Carolingian Empire. The title khagan was given the Bulgarian ruler (in retrospect) by Chronicle of Pop Dukljanin (12th–16th centuries) and vested in the Baptist of Bulgaria Boris/Michael (d. 907). Byzantium recognised the title of tsar (basileus) for Bulgarian rulers. The name Michael associated with the name of Archangel and the ruler of “last” eschatological times (after 1000 A.D. apocalyptic expectations). The reign of the Byzantine Emperor Michael III marked the beginning of Russian history in the “Tale of Bygone years”; Vladimir (as well as Yaroslav) completed this history by the Baptism of the Rus’ (in Hilarion’s treatment). These deeds are most consistent with the universal (Imperial) title of the ruler of the edge of the Christian Oecumene.

The title *khagan*, considered as the most ancient title of Russian Princes, was mentioned by two different groups of sources. An ancient group (9th–10th centuries) is represented by controversial external Eastern and Latin sources.

The Russians (*Rhos*) were mentioned for the first time in the Carolingian *Annales Bertiniani* s.a. 839, when they appeared with the Byzantine embassy sent by Emperor Theophilus to Louis the Pious’ residence in Ingelheim on Rhine. The Embassy attended people (*Rhos*), who were sent by their ruler, the *chacanus*, to Constantinople “for the sake of friendship” but could not return to their land through the same way because this way was blocked by the “fierce Barbarians”. Theophilus begged Louis to miss friendly “divergences” over the Empire of the Franks, but Louis was supposed to investigate their origin. These

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people admitted that they are "from the tribe of Sueones" (Swedes). The Franks tried to oppose the onslaught of Vikings and Louis suspected the aliens were not "friends", but spies, so he ordered that they were arrested. These Rhos people declared that their ruler (*rex*) was the *chacanus*,¹ and this declaration gave way to the modern discussion regarding whether these Russians obeyed the Khazarian *khagan/chacan* or they had their own ruler in a mysterious "Russian khaganate".

In the recent Russian historiography, despite the apparent "normanist" nature of *Annales Bertiniani* (detecting the Scandinavian origin of initial Rus'), the "antinormanist" idea dominated: the first diplomatic initiative and the original Russian State was ruled by a ruler who made a claim to the Khazarian title *khagan*. Kiev was supposed to be the capital of this State. Taking into account the absence of any evidence of Kiev before the second half of the 9th century in recent hypotheses the capital of the "Russian (Rhos) Khaganate" is placed in the old Novgorod Hillfort or in Ladoga, where the Scandinavian finds are dated from the 9th and even from the 8th century. Ladoga seems to be preferable in such theories in an attempt to synchronise the archaeological data with the 839 Embassy, but the borders of the "Russian Khaganate" remains unclear, and its "capital" Ladoga was a small settlement in the first half of the 9th century.²

According to Elena A. Melnikova, the first Russian rulers of Scandinavian origin adopted the Khazarian title *khagan* to oppose their power to the archaic rule of the tribal Slav princes with their Pre-Slavonic title *knjaz'*.³ However, there are no traces of this adoption in the official (Byzantine or Western) documents. Anton A. Gorsky considered the Varangians Askold and Dir (who ruled Kiev in the 960-970s, according to the Primary Chronicle) could be the Russian *khagans*.⁴ He relied on the traditional construction *ex silentio*. In his polemic letter on the titles of European sovereigns (871), addressed to the Byzantine Emperor Basil I, Louis II insisted that the Khazars (!) as well as "the Normans" (*Nortmani* – Varangian Rus) were not given the title of *khagan*, hence this title could be recognised for Russian Princes in Byzantium; however, the *khagan* was the acknowledged ruler of Khazaria, and the Russian Princes were

¹ *Annales Bertiniani*. Rec. G. Waitz. Hannoverae, 1883, s.a. 839; *Древняя Русь в свете зарубежных источников: хрестоматия: в 5 т. Т. IV: Западноевропейские источники*. Сост., пер. и коммент. А.В. Назаренко. Москва 2010, 17–21.

² Cf. В. Я. Петрухин, "Саркел и Бертинские анналы: хазарское начало русской истории?", In: *Восточная Европа в древности и средневековье: XXVII Чтения памяти В.Т. Пашуто*, Отв. ред. Е. Мельникова, Москва 2015, 216–221; А. П. Толочко, *Очерки начальной Руси*. Санкт-Петербург 2015, 112–123.

³ Е. А. Мельникова, *Древняя Русь и Скандинавия*. Москва 2001, 120–121.

⁴ А. А. Горский, *Русь от славянского Расселения до Московского царства*. Москва 2004, 55–56.

called *arhonts*. Oleg, who murdered Askold and Dir in 882 and concluded a treaty with Byzantium in 911, was called *knjaz'* / *arhont* in this treaty.⁵

One could suppose that Askold and Dir who conquered Kiev – the tributary of the Khazars, could claim the Khazar title as rivals of Khazarian *khagan*. Moreover, these claims could reflect the information of the Oriental authors (cf. the almost identical texts by Ibn Rusta and Gardizi), ascending to the second half of the 9th century. However, these authors mentioned the *khaqan-rus* without specific localisation: *not in connection with* Kiev and even with the Slavs. These Russians lived in the Island (it might be possibly Scandinavia) and attacked the Slavs and Volga Bulgars from their ships.⁶

It is essential that in the years close to the Russian embassy of 838, the Khazarian *khagan* and his commander-in-chief *beg* sent their embassy to Theophilus asking for assistance in building the Sharkel fortress on the river Don which, according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, was built around 840.⁷ The river Don was the main trade route for Khazaria as well as for the Russians (initial *Rus'*) who had Scandinavian (Swedish) origin: the oriental coins reached Northern Europe from the beginning of the 9th century onwards. One of the early hoards (around 800) was found in the so-called Right Bank (Tsimlyansk) fortress: Sarkel was situated on the opposite (left) bank of the Don (now at the bottom of Tsimlyansk Reservoir).⁸ A Khazarian imitation of dirham and a coin with Scandinavian graffiti characterise the cultural contacts of the owner of the hoard.⁹

A tile of the Byzantine type was also found in the excavations of the Right Bank fortress. It is remarkable that the material of the fortress on the right bank includes shingles that mirror the Byzantine construction traditions. According to the recent investigations of Valerij S. Flyorov, the impact of the Byzantine construction equipment was not only found in the fortress on the right bank but also in the Khazarian Semikarakory fortress in the lower Don

⁵ On discussion concerning the letter, cf. A. B. Назаренко, "Русь IX в.: обзор письменных источников" In: *Русь в IX–X вв. Археологическая панорама*, Отв. ред. Н. А. Макаров, Москва–Вологда 2012, 21–22.

⁶ Cf. H. Göckenjan–I. Zimonyi, *Orientalische Berichte über die Völker Osteuropas und Zentralasiens im Mittelalter*. Weisbaden 2001, 180–182; *Древняя Русь в свете зарубежных источников. Хрестоматия. Т. III. Восточные источники*. Сост. Т. М. Калинина, И. Г. Коновалова, Москва 2009, 43–58.

⁷ К. Багрянородный, *Об управлении империей*. Под ред. Г. Г. Литаврина, А. П. Новосельцева, Москва 1991, 42.

⁸ Cf. P. B. Golden. "The question of the Rus' Qaghanate," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* II. 1982, 96–97; A. Róna-Tas, "The Khazars and the Magyars." In: *The World of the Khazars. New Perspectives. Selected Papers from the Jerusalem 1999 International Khazar Colloquium*. Ed. P. B. Golden, H. Ben-Shammai, A. Róna-Tas, Leiden–Boston 2007, 275.

⁹ В. Я. Петрухин. *Саркел и Бертинские анналы*.

Basin,¹⁰ The strengthening of the "domen" of the Khazarian Khagan could be connected with the complication of Khazar-Magyar relations. The Magyars were apparently threatening the international waterways on their way to Central Europe. These Magyars could be mentioned as "a fierce people" by the *Rhos* ambassadors. There are no traces of Russian (or Slavonic) organisation of state or *khaganate* in this period:¹¹ the *Rhos* ambassadors in 839 must have been the members of the Khazarian embassy to Constantinople.

To summarise, it appears that the initial (Scandinavian) *Rus'* recognised the sovereignty of the Khazarian khagan in the first half of the 9th century, but they demonstrated their claims to the title of *khagan* during their raids against the Slavic and Bulgarian tributaries of the Khazars in the second half of the 9th century.

In the second - Old-Russian group of sources (11th-12th-XII centuries), the title of *khagan* definitely confers the Russian Princes Vladimir, the Baptist of *Rus'*, and his son Yaroslav the Wise. This title was given in Hilarion's "Sermon on Law and Grace" (the first half of the 11th century). In a very curious Kievan graffito from the 11th century and in an obscure fragment of the "Igor Tale" (possibly from the 12th century),¹² the title *khagan* refers to representatives of Chernigov (Eastern) branch of Russian princely family,¹³ claiming the authority over the territories from the Middle Dnieper to Tmutorokan' - the former lands of the Khazarian Khaganate. Svjatoslav, prince of Chernigov, son of Yaroslav the Wise, who usurped Kiev in the 1070s, could be mentioned as the *khagan* in a Kievan graffito. His son, Oleg, prince of Tmutorokan', who tried to siege Chernigov in the end of the 11th century, could be endowed with this title in the "Igor tale".¹⁴ However, only the founders of Christian Russia, Vladimir and Yaroslav were solemnly proclaimed by Hilarion to be *khagans* in the 11th century, the century after the fall of Khazaria.

The Bulgarian researcher Tsvetelin Stepanov demonstrates (after Ivan Venedikov) a similar situation in Danube Bulgaria.¹⁵ Bulgaria could be heir to the ruined Avar khaganate, but the Bulgarian rulers did not claim the title, because the Avar lands were subject to the Carolingian Empire. The title *khagan*

¹⁰ Т. М. Калинина, В. С. Флёров, В. Я. Петрухин, *Хазария в кросскультурном пространстве: историческая география, крепостная архитектура, выбор веры*. Москва 2014, 109 ff.

¹¹ А. З. Винников, "Донские славяне и алано-болгарский мир: мирное существование или противостояние", In: *Хазары: Миф и история*. ed. В. Я. Петрухин, Е. Э. Носенко-Штейн, Москва 2010, 195.

¹² А. А. Зимин, *Слово о полку Игореве*. Санкт-Петербург 2006, 299-300.

¹³ С. А. Высоцкий, *Древнерусские надписи Софии Киевской XI-XIV вв.* Выпуск-Киев 1966, 49-52; С. А. Высоцкий, *Средневековые надписи Софии Киевской (По материалам граффити XI-XVII вв.)*. Киев 1976, 218.

¹⁴ М. Д. Каган, "Каган," in: *Энциклопедия Слова о Полку Игореве*. отв. ред. О. В. Творогов, Т. З. Санкт-Петербург 1995, 3-4.

¹⁵ Ц. Степанов, *В очакване на Края: европейски измерения ок. 950 – ок. 1200г.* [Awaiting the End: European Dimensions, ca 950 - ca 1200] София 2016, 51 ff.

was given to the Bulgarian ruler by the Latin *Annales Anonymi presbyteri de Dioklea* (once again in retrospect: the *Annales* dates from the 12th to the 16th century) and vested in the Baptist of Bulgaria Boris/Michael (d. 907).¹⁶ The Byzantium recognised for Bulgarian rulers the title of tsar (*basileus*) of the Bulgars (!).¹⁷ The name Michael is associated with the name of the Archangel and the ruler of last times after 1000 A.D. apocalyptic expectations.¹⁸ The reign of the Byzantine Emperor Michael III marked the beginning of the Russian history in the “Tale of Bygone years”; Vladimir (as well as Yaroslav) completed this history by the Baptism of the Rus’ (in Hilarion’s treatment). These deeds are most consistent with the universal (Imperial) title of the ruler of the edge of the Christian world, but are not connected with actual political meaning.¹⁹

¹⁶ *Annales Anonymi presbyteri de Dioklea*. In: *Латински извори за българската история*. Т. 3. София. 1965, 170; cf. The Russian edition: *Летопись по па Дукиянина*. Пер. и комм. С. В. Алексеев, Санкт-Петербург 2015, 50.

¹⁷ В. Дреус. “Коронование и брачный союз: повышение статуса болгарских правителей византийскими императорами в X в.,” In: *На языке даров: правила символической коммуникации в Европе 1000- 1700*. Отв. ред. Г. Альтхов и М. Бойцов, Москва 2016, 29-39.

¹⁸ И. Венедиков. “Легендата за Михаил каган.” In: *Преслав 2. сборник*. София 1976, 179-204.

¹⁹ A similar theory was connected with the rhetorical use of emperor title *tsar* as applied to the Russian holy princes (*kniazja*) Boris and Gleb: W. Vodoff. “Remarques sur ie valeur du tempie ‘tsar’ applique aux princes russes avant ie milieu du XV sicle,” *Oxford Slavonic papers. New series*. Vol. 2. Oxford, 1978, 8-14.

The Map of the Manichean Routes in Central Asia: South-North

NIKOLAI RYBAKOV



The Yenisei iconography of the South of Siberia was discovered by the Finnish expedition led by I.R. Aspelin (1887) and the monuments of the expeditions of 2000-2010 in the same area along the rivers Black and White Iyusy (Northern Khakassia) are taken into consideration. On the basis of the new iconography in the period of military expansion of medieval Kyrgyz in the northern Mongolian steppes (840), the Kyrgyz administration came in contact with the representatives of other syncretic religious groups on the Yenisei. The complex image is embodied in one person who was a Buddhist monk, a Manichaean envoy and a Central Asian spiritual leader. The Uighur Manichaean factor (8th century) was, to some extent, a cultural and historical impulse in the advancement of the syncretism on the Yenisei. Symbolic epigraphy: Buddhist stupas, swastika, endless crosses, cosmic signs accompany figurative reproduction of alien elements. Moreover, these reproductions are conjugated with a similar kind of epigraphy witnessed by researchers of the 20th century in the Chiglit area (Northern Ladakh). The crossroads of the Sogdian trade routes in Southern Turkestan and the northern end of trade routes on the Yenisei indicate a Manichaean route unknown earlier.

In the last decades of the 20th century, Sogdian graffiti that were found in the upper reaches of the Indus in northern Ladakh captured the interest of many researchers. They have in fact indicated trade routes between Sogdiana, Tibet and India since the 4th century. Numerous inscriptions and images on boulders in Tangste, Harong (Gilgit) river valley which is 25 km west of the lake Pangkong illustrate missionary contacts among representatives of world religions – Buddhism, Christianity and Manichaeism (7th–9th centuries).¹ It is not

¹ N. Sims-Williams, "Travellers to Tibet: the Sogdian inscriptions of Ladakh", *Messenger of Ancient History* 2 (1995), 66; R. Vohra, "Tamgas and Inscriptions from Tangts in Ladakh," In: *Studia Tibetica et Mongolica [Indica et Tibetica.34]*, ed. H. Eimer et al., Swisttal-Odendorf 1999, 279-307; G. E. Hutchinson, *The Clear Mirror*. Connecticut 1936 (reprint 1978).; G. Uray, "Tibet's Connections with Nestorianism and Manichaeism in the 8th-10th Centuries," In: *Contributions on Tibetan Language, History and Culture. Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Symposium Held at Velin-Vienna, Austria, 13-19 September, 1981*. Vol.1. ed. E. Steinkeller, Wien 1983.

surprising that relics of foreign emissaries and traders are found here. They have left engravings in the form of inscriptions and symbolic figures. Routes were available not only on the ring road of Karakoram, but had also passed through Baltistan, along Mustagh Pass to Gigit. The central location of Chilas (Gigit) was a crossroad of trade routes from Bactria, Pamir and the western Tarim Basin to India and Central Tibet. Additionally, these commercial communications contributed to the exchange of religious ideas.²

Petroglyphic reproductions have been known since 1906; however, scientific publications have only appeared since 1925.³

Buddhist stupa cult designations, versions of swastika, images of tamgas and Greek crosses were indicated among the engraved petroglyphs (Fig. 1.-1,2: Buddhist stupas in the form of schematic rectangles with the bell in the upper part).⁴ In addition, see images of swastika versions and tamga signs in Fig.5.⁵

The Turkestan expeditions of the early 20th century registered Greek crosses along the southern branches of the Silk Road (Fig. 1.-3: The Greek cross from Le Coq's collection (MH4b) is placed on the top of the Manichaean miniature. Gaochang, 8th-9th centuries, Fig. 1.-4).⁶ The petroglyphic Greek cross originates from the Drangtse area (Gilgit, Ladakh). In the same location, on the west of the Hunza river in Shayok valley, the following petroglyphs were found: crosses, axes, Buddhist stupas, swastika images and inscriptions in different languages (Fig. 1.-5: The Greek cross from the Tibetan materials).⁷

Extensive debates concerning the findings on the periphery of Tibet occurred in the late 20th century.⁸ Scientists did not come to a common consensus

² Vohra, *Tamgas and Inscriptions*, 279, 280; R. Vohra, "An Old Route across the Karakoram Mountains from Khapalu in Baltistan to Yarkand," In: *Wissenschaftsgeschichte und gegenwärtige Forschungen in Nord-west-Indien, Internationales Kolloquium vom 9. Bis 13. März 1987 in Herrnhut*. ed. L. Icke-Schwalbe, G. Meier, Dresden 1990, 125-128.

³ A. N. Franke, "Felseninschriften in Ladakh," In: *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (SPAW)* 30 (1925), 336-370; F. W. K. Müller, "Eine soghdische Inschrift in Ladakh," *SPAW*, 31 (1925), 371-372; J. Dauvillier, "Les Provinces Chaldeennes 'de l'Extérieur' au Moyen Age," In: *Mélanges offerts au R.P. Ferdinand Cavallera à l'occasion de la quarantième année de son professorat*. Toulouse 1948, 261-316.

⁴ Uray, *Tibet's Connections*, 440.

⁵ Vohra, *Tamgas and Inscriptions*, 285.

⁶ H. J. Klimkeit, *Die Begegnung von Christentum, Gnosis und Buddhismus an der Seidenstraße*. Wiesbaden 1986, 37, abb. 6.

⁷ Uray, *Tibet's Connections*, plate XVII.

⁸ Uray, *Tibet's Connections*, 404; H. J. Klimkeit, "Das Kreuzessymbol in der zentralasiatischen Religionsbegegnung," *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, 31:1 (1979), 99-115, Taf. 8; H. J. Klimkeit, "Vairocana und das Lichtreus Manichäische Elemente in der Kunst von Alchi (West-Tibet)." *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 13:2 (1979), 384; A. N. Francke, "Felseninschriften in Ladakh," 366-370, Plate II; E. Benveniste, "Notes sogdiennes (IV)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 9:3 (1938), 503-504; Dauvillier, *Les Provinces Chaldeennes*, 148, 294.

regarding if the crosses are Buddhist, Christian or Manichean. In addition to the collection of newly discovered antiquities, the crosses were documented by Klimkeit, Braker in the location *gSumbrtsegs*, Gilgit, in Upper Ladakh. Klimkeit interprets them as "Manichaeen crosses of light that replaced the Vajra and the moon".⁹ As opposed to this judgment, the crosses in the wall painting (Bazaklik, Turfan) are supposed to represent the Buddhist *cintamani* symbol.¹⁰

The famous article of Géza Uray (1983) summarised the research materials concerning the expansion of Manichaeism in Central Asia. In relation to Tibet, it is admitted now that the imperial court was familiar with the Manichaeen teachings from the Indian guru, Padmasambhava, who came from Uduana.

There are remarkable new discoveries of religious iconography. They were documented in the headwaters of the Yenisei in the historical territory of the Yenisei Kyrgyz.¹¹ These petroglyphic reproductions on the tombstones and outcrops in the landscape of the modern republic of Khakassia (Russia) are situated in the Iyus steppe which is 270 km north from Abakan city (Fig. 2. – The knockouts and engravings dated by the end of the 8th to the first half of the 9th centuries).

In Fig. 3.-1, a group of sun-moon combinations are depicted on the left and two Greek crosses on the right. In Fig. 3.-2, there are three Greek crosses above the bars. Fig. 3.-3 depicts a cosmic sign and a cross above the bar. All the crosses have a horizontal line (a cross above the bar) below them.

Sun-moon variations are especially typical for the Eastern Manichaeen church, which is confirmed by Uighur-Manichaeen texts and examples of Turfan iconography.

Cosmology and cosmogony of pre-shamanistic and shamanistic cults of the early medieval period in Central Asia and astral objects of the sun and the moon influenced the Manichaeen iconic complex. A large group of the "sun-moon" cosmic signs in the Yenisei area (up to 50 items) determines the iconological aspect of preference to three prototypes of "celestial hierarchy" that are moon, crescent moon and sun-moon as universal objects that have divine sanction in matters of soul salvation. However, the Manichean cosmogony involved and deified only the sun and the moon in the sphere of astronomical

⁹ Klimkeit, *Das Kreuzessymbol* 70–109.

¹⁰ Uray, *Tibet's Connections*, 420.

¹¹ N. I. Rybakov, "Procession – a monument of Sogdian-Yenisei cultural-historical interrelations," In: *World outlook of the population of Southern Siberia and the Central Asia in historical retrospective*. Issue 3, Barnaul 2009, 135–159; N. I. Rybakov, "Bodhisattva Maudgal'iaiana v Iiusskih petroglyphah," In: *Ancient Monuments of Siberia and Central Asia*, 5 (17), ed. V. I. Sosnoev, Gorno-Altai 2013.; N. I. Rybakov, "Oshkol'skoe derevo i koren' zla," In: *Religion in the History of People of Russia and Central Asia, Proceedings of the II International Conference*, ed. P. K. Dashkovskiy, Barnaul 2014, 166–170; N. I. Rybakov, "Mirovoe derevo i ego variant v Iiusskih petroglyphah," In: *Ancient Cultures of Mongolia and Baikalian Siberian. V. International conference Kyzyl, 15-19 of September*, Vol. 2, Kyzyl 2014, 70–74; N. I. Rybakov, "Kyrgyzsko-manikheiskii krest" *Epigraphy of the East XXXI* (2015), 121–128.

objects.

No graphic analogues of a new model of the Greek cross with an additional grapheme beneath have yet been found, but the study of the specific heraldry showed that the Greek cross belongs to the Nestorian Christian circle in the epigraphic complex of Central Asia. It is marked as the *cintamani* sign in Buddhism. It is known that the Manichaeans adopted the Greek cross.

The crossbar is a symbol that is rife in the Siberian shamanistic beliefs; in the surroundings of the nomadic tribes of Central Asia, the crossbar is natural reality of the natural landscape barriers, roads and paths. In the first case, it has a wide range of meanings. These are beam-threshold, crossbar as an overlap (tie-beam, rafters), bedding, pillow, place bearing the gods, and a crossbar as an element of the world tree. The horizontal crossbar is a common element in the tamga heraldry of nomadic Kazakh tribes such as Argyn, Kerei, Kanly, Kypchak, Nogai and Turkmen tribes such as Salyr, Yomut, and Saryk. Structural shaping of cruciate signs of tamgas has a horizontal line as the component and relates to the early medieval period of the tamga complexes (6th-7th centuries) of "Turkic ethnic basis".¹² In the catalogue of the Mongolian tamgas, "a cross above the bar" has a meaning of "pin, fastener".¹³ Additionally, the Keraite sign of the cross-pin *chatgan* is semantically identical to the *Nogaihos tamga*, which is called transport "pair-horse vehicular" tamga. In the same line, there are the following tamgas: *kup-khuu* (Naiman), *zagalmai* (Kara-Kalpak), *kyiiskan* (KaraNogai).¹⁴ This type of tamgas as a straight line was common in the tribes of Minor Horde in several historical periods, from the Genghis Khan era.¹⁵

In this case, the crossbar is indirectly associated with the notion of "earth" in the magic religious concepts of the Turks, which explains the veneration of the sacred secret force of the earth and natural obstacles for the nomadic horse-drawn transport and riding. In this regard, for example, the crossing is an element of deep religious and mythological traditions, a factor of inseparable understanding of the local deities, respect for ancestral lands, their spirits of mountains, land and water.

The cross above the bar as part of the Yenisei iconography is a universal symbol and it is extrapolated from the circle of the Central Asian epigraphic complex. According to the author's theory, the incomers in long robes are the carriers of the cross, and they are the Manichaeans.

The Manichean two-act structure of the universe with the "demonic bottom" and "celestial top" theoretically gives the initial impulse to the under-

¹² K. M. Baipakov-A. N. Podushkin, *Pamiatniki zemledel'chesko-skotovodcheskoi kul'tury Iuzhnogo Kazakhstana*. Almaty 1989, 150.

¹³ H. Perlee, *Izuchenie etnogeneza mongol'skikh narodnostei po rodovym znakam*. Ulan-Ude 1975, 192, 209, 224.

¹⁴ H. Perlee, *Izuchenie etnogeneza* 194, 195; *Mongol'sko-russkij slovar'*, ed. A. Lavsandendev, Moscow 1957, 560.

¹⁵ N. A. Aristov, *Opyt vyiasneniia etnicheskogo sostava kirgiz-kazakov Bolshoi ordy i karakirgizov*. St. Petersburg 1895, 27.

standing of the Yenisei cross above the bar as a new Manichean "Cross of light" that was reproduced by place and time.

A brief comment should be made on the Buddhist Yenisei epigraphy documented by the author in the interfluvium of Iyuses (2003-2010). According to the new materials related to medieval monuments of the Oshkolsk steppe,¹⁶ one of the characters depicted on the plate (Fig. 4.-4), holds three-tier staff under his arm (the plate was exported to the store of Hermitage by L.R. Kyzlasov in 1979). He is identified with the image (Figure 4.-3,5) of Bodhisattva Maudgalyayana.¹⁷ Maudgalyayana (Mulian in the early Chinese tradition, cf. Mongolian Molon-Toin in the 17th century) was the second disciple of Shakyamuni. In China, he has been known in the folklore since the 4th century B. C. ("Baofuanaboutthree incarnations of Mulian"). The writing began to gain popularity in the 8th-10th centuries.¹⁸

We do not know how he was called in the Yenisei area in the period of religious contacts between newcomers and the Yenisei Kyrgyz. On the plate below (Fig. 4.-1,2), which depicts the saint, a schematic Buddhist stupa is stamped. According to its outlines, it is identical to graphic examples from the case of Gilgit (Southern Turkestan).

Fig. 5.-1 depicts a Swastika and stupa among tamga signs and other images of the Hurtuyag monument (the area is adjacent to the right bank of the White Iyus, 27 km). Buddhist images are dated back to the Middle Ages. Schematic images of stupas from Giglit-Podkamen-Khurtuyakh have identical outlines: a rectangle with an open, up-directed neck (it is suggested that this identity has signs of structural images of Buddhist mandalas).

Fig. 5.-2 depicts a Swastika as a part of other iconographic images (Sulek, the late Middle Ages). In the first two cases, among the accompanying images, there are Buddhist (?) signs of the "female principle" *yon*i in the form of a diamond with wings.¹⁹

The history of religious contacts between the representatives of Buddhism and Manichaeism in the Sogdian routes of Central Asia is rich in couplings of these confessions in the same region or state. As a rule, these confessions were at war, but there are many facts of their rapprochement. After getting to the Yenisei Kyrgyz, where shamanism had flourished since ancient times, they probably found new acceptable forms of preaching practices adapting to the historical circumstances and the factor of "survival".

The study concerning the cults of religious art on the Yenisei, which are of

¹⁶ N. Podkamen-H. Appelgren-Kivalo, *Alt-Altäische Kunstdenkmäler*. Helsingfors 1931, abb. 100, 20.

¹⁷ P. Demieville, *Iconography and History // The twin pagodas of zayton. A study of later Buddhist sculpture in China*. Cambridge 1935, 75, 14 E; Rybakov, *Bodhisattva Maudgal'iaiana*, 148, fig. 1.

¹⁸ P. V. Berezkin, *Dragotsennyyesvitki (baotszyiuan') v dukhovnoi kul'ture Kitaia: naprimere «Baotszuan' o trekh voploshcheniiakh Muliania»*. Petersburg 2012, 60, 103.

¹⁹ N. I. Rybakov, (epigraphic materials with a diamond are in the state of the author's research).

foreign origin, provides the possibility of expanding the Manichaean route map within Central Asia: the extreme northern vector points to one of the regions of the Yenisei Basin (Fig. 6.). It is necessary to emphasise that the movement of foreigners to the north through the ridges of Tannu-Ola and the Western Sayan Mountains in the Iyus steppe through the place of Kyrgyz administration was possible due to the Uyghur-Manichean religious bridgehead (763-840). At the same time, there are no chronicles providing evidence of Manichaean groups migrating to the medieval Yenisei Kyrgyz. However, the author has discovered iconographic documents confirming the religious and diplomatic contacts between the Kyrgyz and the Karluks from the Seven Rivers in the beginning of the 9th century.

Fig. 6. "Procession" (Chulskaya carving, the materials of the author) shows the religious and historical mission in the Yenisei within the Kyrgyz administration.²⁰ The embassy representatives came from the areas of the Seven Rivers, Talas. The graphic motif of the costume parade consists of ten figures. Seven of them are in long robes: the leading and closing ones are guards in Phrygian caps, four are in the rank of the "*electi*" in the appropriate attire. Among the latter, there are two young ladies (princesses or diplomatic brides?) and two males. The latter is an astrologist, with two cosmic emblems on the flaps of the mantle. The maid follows the princesses. The procession is accompanied by a comic company of two dwarfs and a jester. It should be noted that a *tiara*, a twisted braid at the nape and a mantle with a trailing train are marked signs of the Yenisei Manichaean.

As a phenomenon, the monument is exceptional. There are no known sources related to the Manichaean missionary history and fragmentary stories of the Central Manichaean communities that mention a mixture of mundane and religious type, which is observed in this graphic motif. Concurrently, we have information regarding women and the troupe of folk theatre in the place and time; this is mainly from the messages of Chinese chronicles. Dwarfs, dancers, musicians and diplomatic brides were transferred along Turkestan roads as gifts of trade and diplomatic embassies. We read the following in the reports by N. Y. Bichurin: "At the beginning of the reign of Khai-yuan in 713, a chain mail, a cup of oriental crystal, an agate jar, eggs of camel-bird, Yuenis dwarf and Turkestan dancers were sent to the Court." "In the same period, "...a lion-dancer and Turkestan dancers were presented (to the Court)."; "The ruler Guymi (comes from the Tukyues house) sent Turkestan dancers". Or: "in 733 the ruler Gudo (?) sent singers to the Court". The same sources indicate that noble families of ancient Turks sent their brides to marry the princes on the Yenisei Kyrgyz: "The Tukyues house gave their daughters to their elders". Turkic Khan Mochuo (692-716) married his daughter off to Bars-beg, the Khan of the Kyrgyz.²¹ In 716, after the death of Mochuo (Khan of the Western Turks),

²⁰ Rybakov, *Procession*, 135-159.

²¹ P. Melioranskii, "Po povodu novoi arkheologicheskoi nakhodki v Aulieatinskom uezde," In: *Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Rossiyskogo arheologicheskogo obshchestva*,

Khan Sulu (716-738) took the power in the country of Turgesh. Mogilian married his own daughter off to him and married his son off to Sulu's daughter.²²

We believe that two young princesses – participants of the procession – are diplomatic brides. They may have visited the headquarters of the Kyrgyz administration on the Iyuses within the Oshkolsk steppe. There is a message in the Chinese chronicles regarding the practice of sending diplomatic brides to the Yenisei area during the reign of the Kyrgyz Khagan Ajo: "When the Uighurs grew gradually weak, Ajo (Inal) declared himself as *khagan*. His mother was the daughter of Turgesh Khagan; he made her a (widow) *khatun*. His wife was the daughter of the Karluk *yabgu*; he made her a *khatun*."²³ To make this fact complete, there is a translation of the chronicles of the Tang Dynasty by N. Ya. Bichurin: "As Huihu started to decline, then Ajo declared himself a *khan*, and he declared the mother, native of Tutsishi the *khan's* dowager, and he declared Gela-Shehu the *khan's* wife, daughter".²⁴

The Karluks became stronger after the 760s; they owned the territory to the Ob and Irtysh in the north and also moved to the mountains of Pamir and Hindu Kush in the south. The extreme point of their expansion is documented in the border area of India (Ayedhya area).²⁵ The Karluks controlled the trade routes of the Western Tibetan kingdoms. The Karluk Khaganate came to the historical turn between 812 and 818. After their nomadic settlements were defeated by the Turks and Uighurs in the Chu River in these years, their rule lasted until the 40's of the 9th century. At the beginning of the 9th century, the dynastic union between the Kyrgyz and Karluk families was concluded. The Kyrgyz made an agreement of international trade with the Karluks, Tibetans and Arabs. Their contacts with China ceased before 842. As always, the trade was connected with missionary activity.²⁶

According to these historical data, we can conclude that the diplomatic mission of the Karluks to the Yenisei, to the headquarters of the Kyrgyz Khagan Ajo, occurred in the 20s of the 9th century. However, the brides, as mentioned above, were accompanied by the Manichaeans. The way of the mission apparently ran along the known route, the so-called "western Kyrgyz road": Tarbagatai– Issyk-Kul – Altai – Kuznetsk Basin – Abakan River – Iyus steppe. Studies of modern times support the scientific thought concerning the presence of Manichaeism in Talas among the Turgesh and Karluk tribes in the period of

vol. XI, ed. V. R. Rozen Sanktpetersburg 1899, 70.; N. Ya. Bichurin, *Sobranie svedenii o narodakh, obitavshikh v SredneiAzii v drevnie vremena*. Vol. 1-2, Moscow-Leningrad 1950-1953, 309, 321, 325, 353.

²² Bichurin, *Sobranie svedenii o narodakh*, Vol. 1, 1950, 368-370.

²³ Yu. A. Zuyev, *Early Turks essays of History and Ideology*. Almaty 2002, 237; *Ouyang Xiu Xin Tang Shu*. [History of the Tang Dynasty. The new edition] Beijing 1958.

²⁴ Bichurin, *Sobranie svedenii o narodakh*, Vol. I, 355.

²⁵ H. Hoffmann, "Die Qarluq in der Tibetischen Literatur," *ORIENS*, V:3 (1950) 190-208.

²⁶ V. V. Bartold, *Raboty po istorii i philologii tiurkskikh i mongol'skikh narodov*. Moscow 2002, 45, 55, 108, 310.

their active history in the 7th-9th centuries.²⁷

The "Procession" monument raises the question of the "exclusivity of the phenomenon". One can ponder the exact reason as to why the brides are dressed in specific costumes of Manichaean priests. This phenomenon contradicts the rules regarding acceptable standards of austerity and inner regulations of the Manichaean community of the orthodox tradition. The motif of the secular and religious convergences in the face of electae-brides in the spectacular forms of parading figures is a phenomenon, which is not supported by any historiographic facts. Thus, this scene shows the event of the arrival of the diplomatic embassies accompanied by renegades of an unknown Manichaean sect with obvious signs of social deviations to the Yenisei.

The Yenisei figurative art is mainly influenced by three religious components: the monastic Buddhism that had already been influenced by indigenous religions of Tibet and Central Asia, degraded hybrid of Manichaeism in the fading period and a wide variety of shamanism. The latter contains the infiltrations of Tibetan beliefs, ancient beliefs of Central Asian nomadic tribes and spiritistic ritual practices of Southern Siberia. The Manichean component provides an indication of the Manicheans who had lost their identity: they had repeatedly "changed their clothes" to such an extent moving along trade routes, until they were at the place of administration of the Yenisei Kyrgyz. They are the representatives of the last stage of their religious activity, lost their cults, took hidden forms of syncretic additional connotations as mystical rites, sacralised events, magic, metaphysical activities, including epigraphic art forms.

The above material does not approve the priorities of direct religious communications of carriers of proselytizing teachings from South Turkestan trade routes (Gilgit) to the north to the Yenisei Kyrgyz. However, the evidence of certain religious groups' promotion to the Yenisei area with Sogdian and Arab trade caravans and diplomatic marriage embassies from the south to the north is confirmed by historical facts and materials of the set of petrographic monuments of the Iyus steppe.

²⁷ J. P. Asmussen, "Xuastuanift," In: *Studies in Manichaeism*. Copenhagen, 1965, 219; Sir G. Clauson-E. Tyjarski, "The inscription at Ikhe Khushotu." *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*. 34 (1971), 19; A. K. Kamalov, *Drevnieuigury VII-IX vv.* Almaty 2001, 195; K. M. Baipakov-K. M. Ternovaya, "Svedeniia o manikheiskom khrame Kaialyka," In: *The cultural heritage of southern Kazakhstan*, ed. K. A. Akishev, Shymkent 2002, 33-35; V. V. Bartold, *Raboty*, 51; K. U. Torlanbaeva, "Manikheistvo v srednevekovom Talase." In: *Uighur Studies in Kazakhstan: traditions and innovations. Conference proceedings*, 30. 09. 2005, Almaty. Ed. A. K. Kamalov Almaty 2006, 55-67.

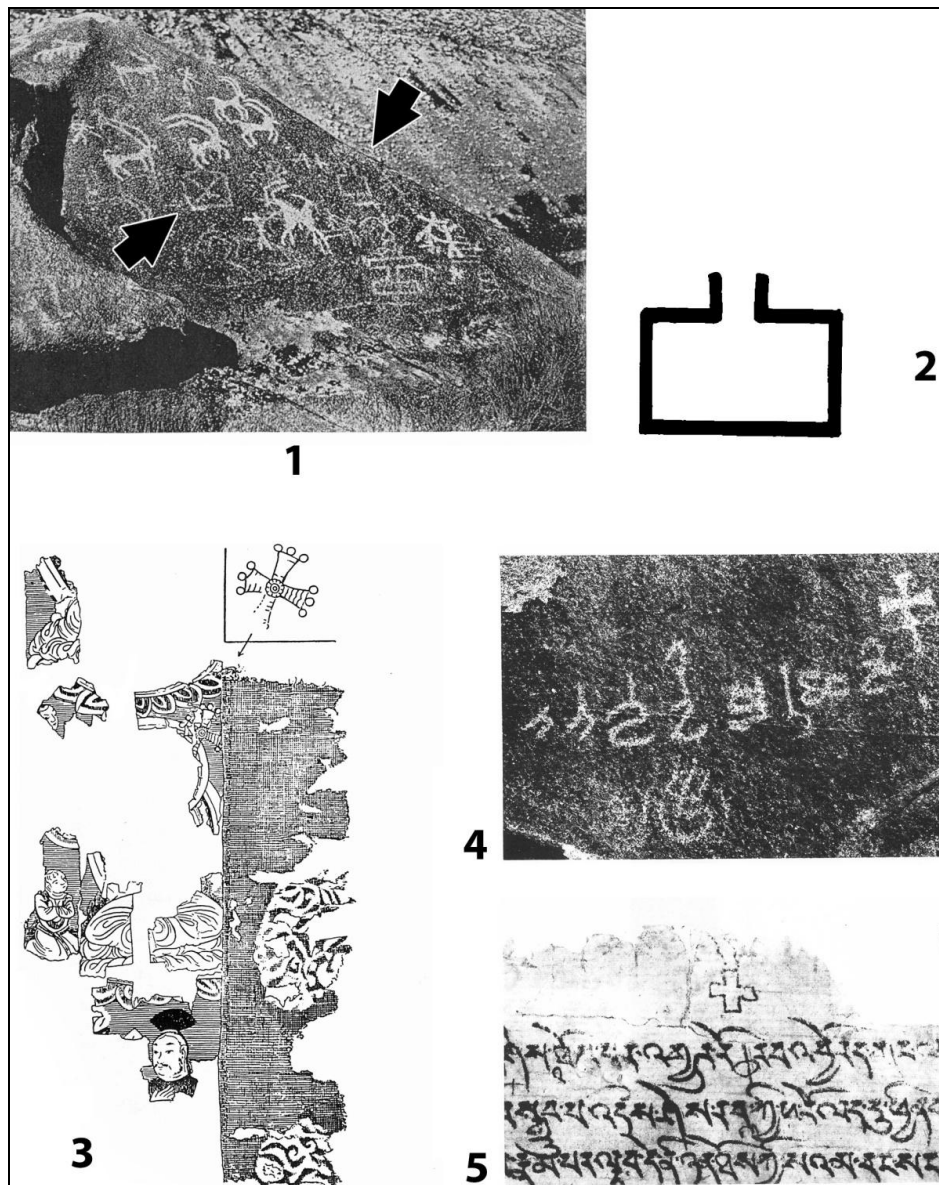


Figure 1. -1,2,3,4,5 – Greek crosses and schematic Buddhist stupas: Ladakh, South Turkestan.

Fig. 1. -1,2 – Images of Buddhist stupas, Drangtse, by: (G.E., Hutchinson, 1936).

Fig. 1. -3 – Image of the Greek cross in the Manichean miniature by: (MH4b, Le Coq materials).

Fig. 1. -4 – Greek cross, Drangtse, by: (courtesy Prof. Hutchinson; G., Uray, 1983, Plate XVIIa).

Fig. 1. -5 – Greek cross from the Tibetan manuscripts, Pelliot materials, Bibl. Nat. Paris, on: (G., Uray, 1983, Plate XVIIb).

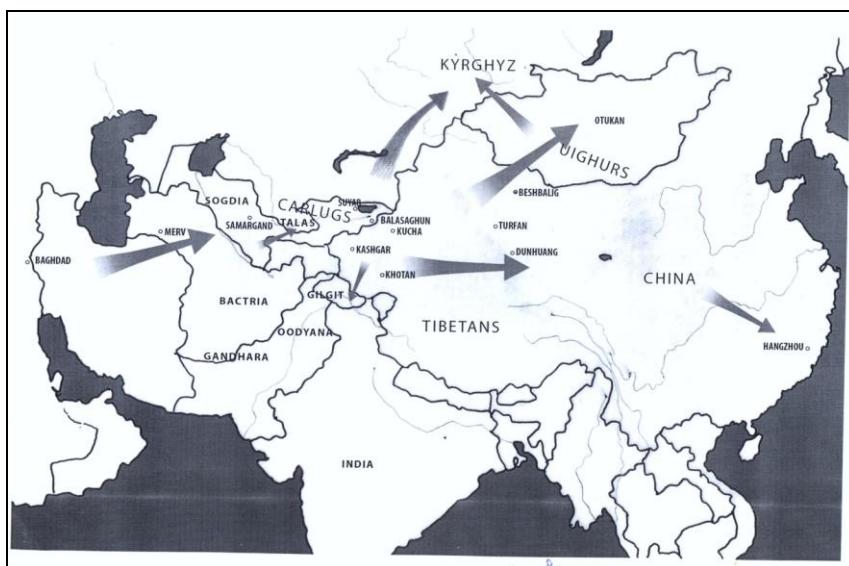


Figure 2. -Map of expansion of Manichaeism in Central Asia. Additional evidence: Southern Turkestan (of Ladakh), Southern Siberia, 270 kilometres north from the city of Abakan (Russia).

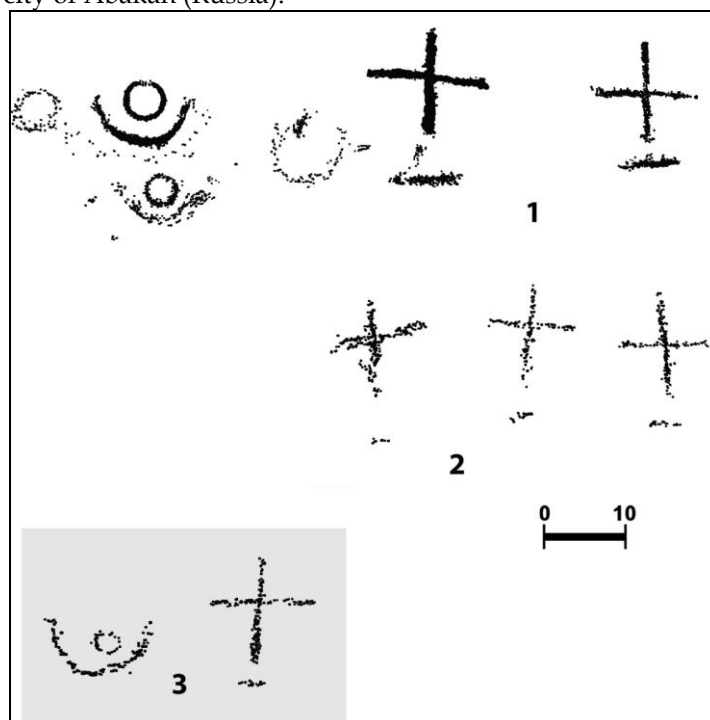


Figure 3. -1,2,3 - Religious iconography in three versions: the sign of the sun-moon and Greek cross above the bar, the left bank of the White Iyus (the author's materials).

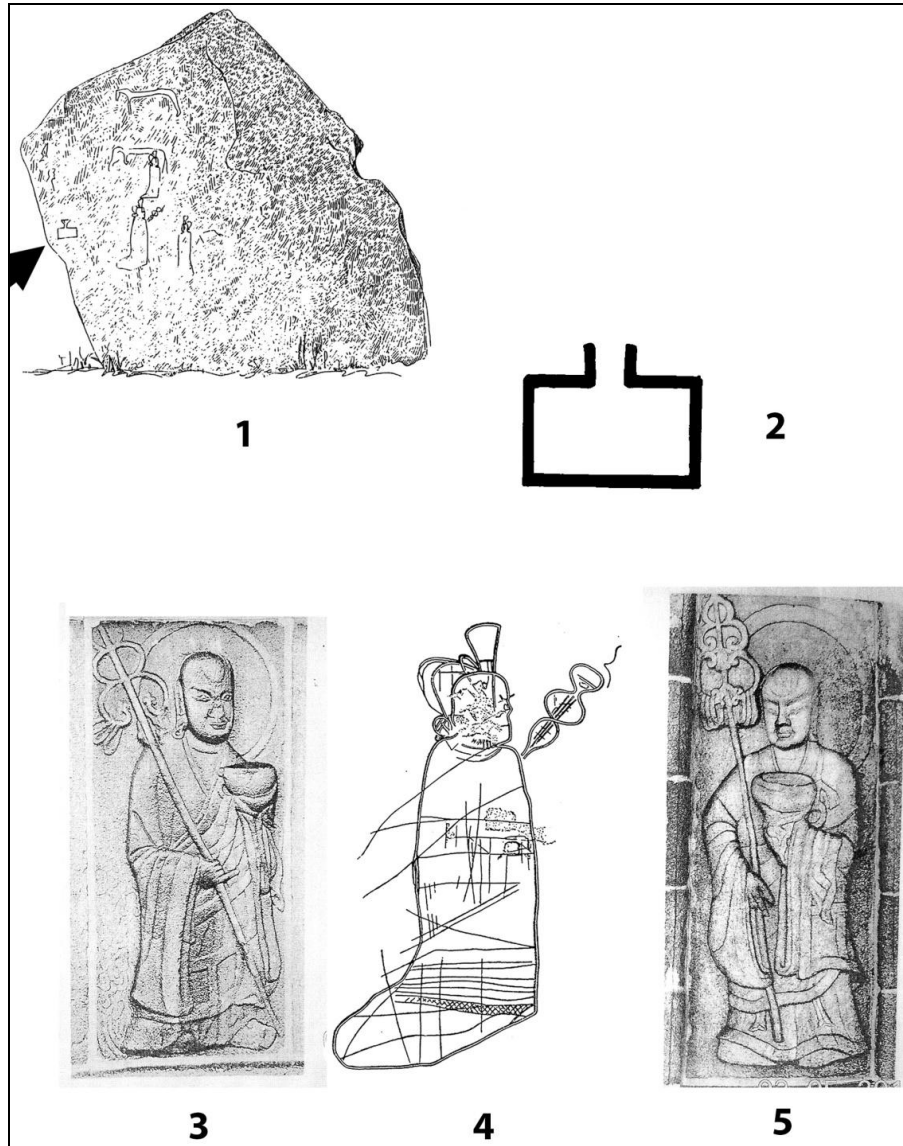


Figure 4. -1,2,3,4,5 -Maudgalyayana image in petroglyphs of the Yenisei (Podkamen: H., Appelgren-Kivalo, 1931, abb 100, 20) and Chinese compliance, (P., Demieville, 1935, 75, 14E).

Fig. 4. -1,2 - Plate with the image of priests and schematic Buddhist stupa underneath (Pidkamin), Hermitage (materials of Finnish expedition in 1878, R., Aspelin).

Fig. 4. -3,5 -Carving images: China, Pagoda Zayton: (materials of P. Demieville, 1935).

Fig. 4.-4 - Character with a three-blade staff under his arm, Podkamen: (materials of Finnish expedition 1878, R., Aspelin).

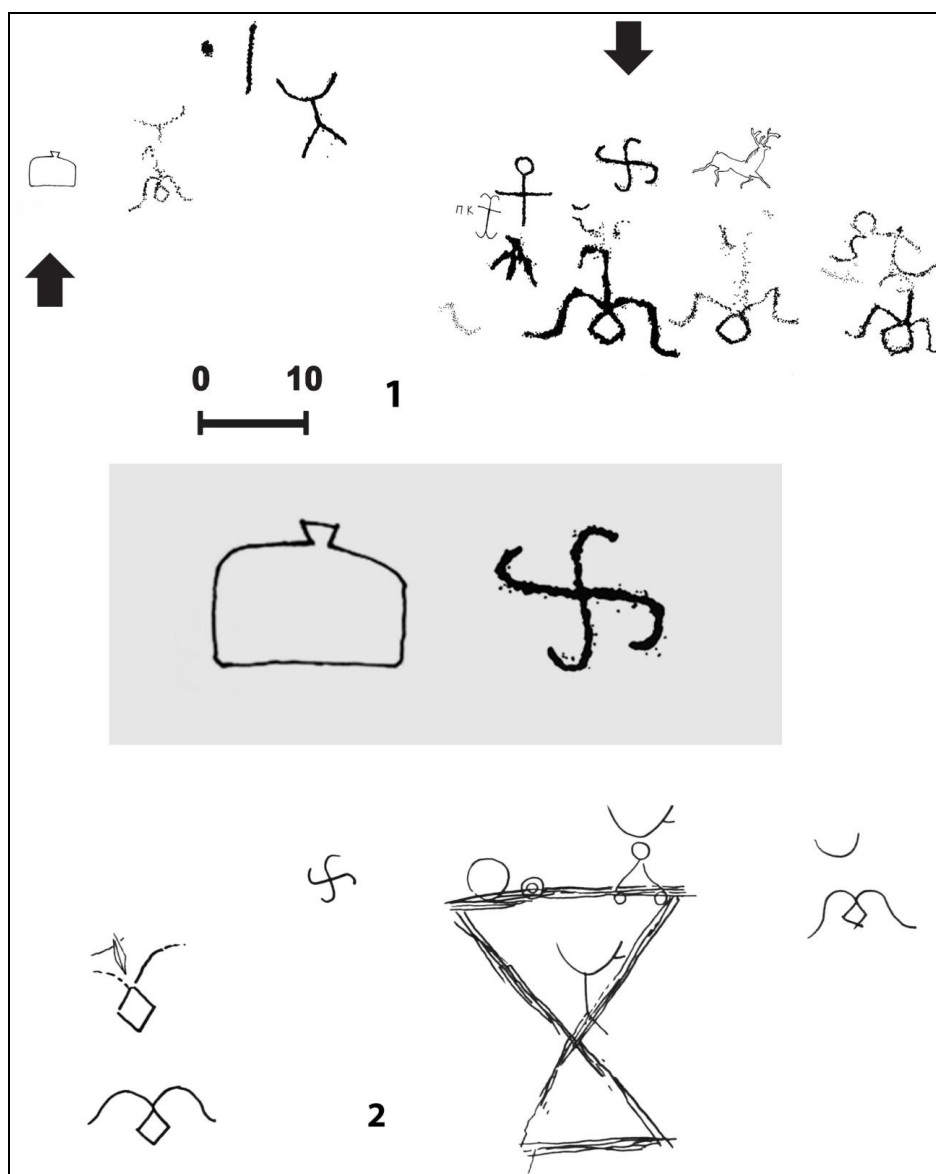


Figure 5.1,2 – Petrographic images of a Buddhist stupa and swastika at the monuments of Iyus steppe (the author's materials).

Fig. 5.-1 – Swastika and stupa among tamga signs and other images of Hurtuyag monument (the area is adjacent to the right bank of the White Iyus, 27km).

Fig. 5.-2 – Swastika and other Buddhist designations, Sulek, the late Middle Ages (the author's materials).

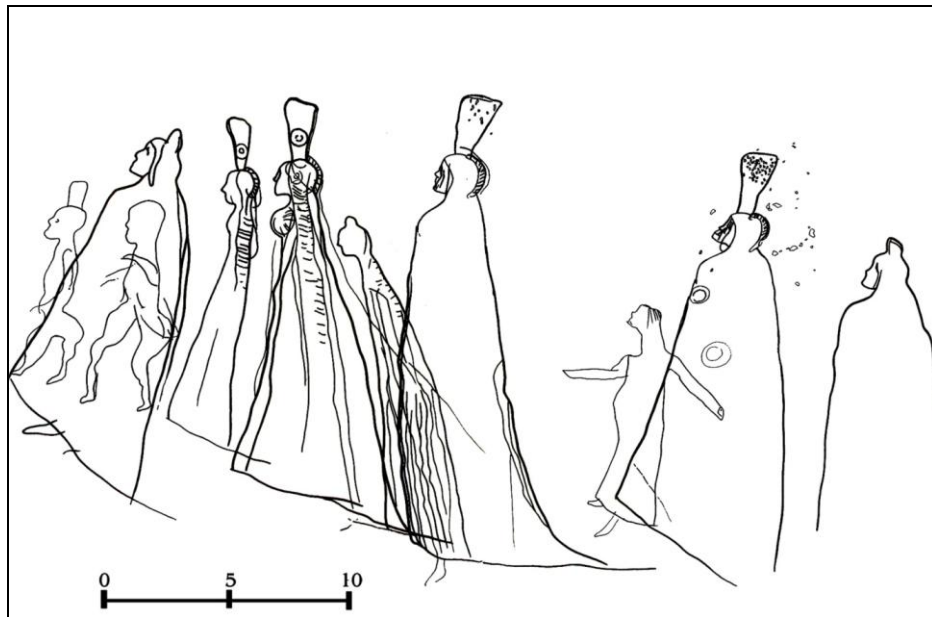


Figure 6. – Religious and historical monument “Procession”, Kigik-Chul (beginning of the 9th century), interfluvium of the Iyuses (author’s materials).

The Cuman Studies as a Scientific Discipline¹

VALERY STOYANOV*



As for the Cumans, they were discovered only in the 18th-19th centuries, when Oriental studies, archaeology and ethnography developed and made it possible to study their history. Firstly, the Cumans could not be identified among the Eastern European Nomadic peoples such as the Pechenegs, Oguz/Uz. The study of the material in Codex Cumanicus, the oriental elements in the Song of Igor's Campaign, and other sources brought new results in Turkology and a new field of study came into being: Cumanology including the history, language and archaeology of the Cumans/Kipchaks. There were historians, archaeologists, linguists, Slavists, Byzantinists, Turkologists, Arabists among the founder fathers (P. Golubovskiy, J. Marquart, D. Rasovsky, S. Pletneva, O. Pritsak, P. Golden etc.) . The peculiarities of this field of research are discussed in this article.

Whether it was a paradox or a law, the scholarly interest in the Cumans did not emerge until they had already vanished from the historical scene, and their descendants became part of the neighbouring nations (Tatars, Georgians, Russians, Wallachians, Hungarians, Bulgarians and so on). They assimilated them and participated in their ethno-genesis, which led to the creation of local ethnographic groups, including today's Kipchak nations. The Cumans were of course already mentioned by the contemporary chroniclers and by the later historians close to their epoch. Their data represent the primary source of knowledge for the exploration of this people. However, not only the Russian chroniclers, but also the Georgian, Byzantine and Latin-speaking authors of the European Middle Ages, as well as their Muslim (Arabian, Persian) colleagues and the Chinese biographers from the Mongol period, gave reports on the

¹ For the authors mentioned here see in: V. Stojanov. *Kumanologija. Opiti za rekonstrukcija*. [Cumanology. Attempts at Reconstructions] Sofia 2006; V. Stojanov. *Kumanologija. Istoriografski eskizi*. [Cumanology. Historiographical Sketches] Vol. 1-2. Sofia 2009; V. Stojanow, "Die russische Historiographie über die *Kočevniki* – ein Beitrag zur Ideengeschichte des späten Zarenreichs," *Bulgarian Historical Review* 40:3-4 (2010), 167-192.

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Cumans (Polovcians, Kipchaks) only so far as concerned with the political events of the time they described. Since it was characterised by stormy conflicts in which the nomads played an active role – either on their own initiative or because they were drawn on the side of one or the other of the opposing parties – the information about them was not impartial, but subjected to the general course of exposition; this is a tradition which has continued in the later national historiographies.

In this sense, it is no coincidence that the special interest in the Cumans awoke with the development of the historical science in the 18th-19th centuries, together with the new scientific field of “Oriental Studies”, as the importance of language in defining and grouping of population was recognised, the foundations of the Archaeology and Ethnography as separate fields were put, and more accurate scientific methods were developed in the historical analysis. This is also the time when the idea of an ethnically conditioned nation arose, for the consolidation of which contributed the myth-building of the national historiographies. During this time, the focus of research began to be concentrated on the past of one’s own people and its relations with the neighbouring nations; to a large extent, this made the history an “ethnocentric” science. This also led to the curiosity to those Eastern tribes, whose migrations changed the ethno-political map of the continent.

The interest in the East and its history (including the Cumans) was quite logical for two more reasons. First of all, this coincided with the neutralisation of the Ottoman danger. After the defeat of Kara Mustafa Pasha by Vienna (1683) and the Ottoman troops at Mohács (1687), the expulsion of the “Turks” from Europe stimulated the desire for a better understanding of the ancient “opponent”. This led to the first detailed studies on their history and language, which were crowned with the works of F. Meninski, De la Croix and J. Hammer. At the same time, Russia’s process of “Europeanisation” occurred under Peter the Great, with the new empire stretching to the coasts of the Pacific Ocean and including dozens of foreign nations in its imperial frontier. After the disappearance of the danger from the East, it was much easier to write quietly from the position of the winner over the “Asians” already “pacified”, whether they were Tatars, Mongols, Iranians, Indians or Chinese. The growing weight of Russia in European politics evoked interest in its history again, including the past of the non-Slavic nations. On the other hand, this type of “reconquista” constituted a continuation of the expansion of the Christian Europe, ongoing since the previous centuries, which put it in contact with many foreign cultures. Their better understanding was needed for imposing of the European trade and economic interests, for the purpose of the mission, or the practical implementation of the colonial administration. Thus, from purely pragmatic needs, the Oriental studies developed in Europe as a complex science including the languages, history, culture and religion of the Eastern nations. First, the information about the East had been drawn above all from the descriptions of travellers such as Marco Polo, William of Rubruck, Plano Carpini and others; the autochthonous source material was then also used from the 18th century,

thus enabling Joseph de Guignes (1721-1800) to describe the history of the Huns, Turks, Mongols and the "other Western Tartars" in general.

Of course, the Cumans were seen in the ethnically indivisible sea of the eastern nomadic peoples at that time, and they have been continuously confused with Uzes, Pechenegs, or even Sarmatians, before coming to their more precise demarcation as a particular ethno-cultural conglomerate. The development of the Turkology undoubtedly contributed to it including the disclosure of the linguistic material of the *Codex Cumanicus* and the Eastern influences of the *Song of Igor* ("Slovo o Polku Igoreve"), the exploration of onomastic data, the comparative analysis of data from different sources (such as Russian, Hungarian, Byzantine and "Eastern"), as well as the achievements of the archaeology.

Thus, the formation of the "Cumanology" constituted a complicated and protracted process driven by a growing interest in the subject of research and the development of those humanities, whose methods revealed the peculiarities of the past of the Cumans. Various experts (historians, archaeologists, linguists, Slavists, Byzantinologists and Turkologists, Sinologists, Arabists, etc.) have contributed to the building and development of the discipline, defining its complex character. It has its development phases as well as specific thematic areas, whose totality characterises the parameters of the field.

It is difficult to define the stages in the research of the Cumans chronologically. This is not only because they are sometimes distinguished by the activity of individual researchers (P. Golubovskiy, J. Marquart, D. Rasovskiy, S. Pletneva, O. Pritsak, P. Golden, etc.) and their scientific "production" or by the predominant thematic orientation in a period of time (such as language, history, material remnants), but also because the hypotheses of early authors were "reanimated" in much later works (compare e.g. P. Suhm in the 18th century and S. Pletneva in the 20th century, or perhaps J. Marquart and the works of O. Pritsak and P. Golden).

The Cumans were originally treated together with *Pechenegs* and *Uzes* (P. Golubovskiy) and this practice was also retained in the 20th century, as the interest was directed to the late nomads and their material remains, to their traces in the onomastics (in toponymes and anthroponymes) of individual regions, or to the pre-Turkic and pre-Tatarian super-stratum of the modern Eastern European languages. As early as the 18th century, however, the Cumans were dissociated from the *Pechenegs*, and in the 19th century their separation from the *Uzes* (*Torks*) followed, although in the first decades of the 20th century some authors also continued to identify the Cumans with the *Uzes*. The publication of the *Codex Cumanicus*, whose Turkic records were definitely assigned to the Cumans (*Polowcians*), gave a powerful boost in their study. A new impetus in the area was caused by the work of J. Marquart, in which the history and the original migrations of this "nomadic people" were sketched on the basis of a series of Eastern data. The results of the archaeological researches of S. Pletneva and A. Pálóczi-Horváth, as well as the works of a number of Turkologists such as Gy. Németh, Gy. Győrffy, L. Rásonyi-Nagy, A. Tietze, N. Baskakov, I. Mándoky-Kongur, contributed significantly to the development of the

Cumanology in their turn. The contributions of O. Pritsak and P. Golden from the last decades of the 20th century are particularly valuable in this respect; these continued the tradition once laid by J. Marquart in a higher level.

The directions in the study of the Cumans are also very different. Firstly, it is necessary here to mention the topic on their *past*. It includes works on the relations between Kievan Rus', Byzantium and Georgia with the nomadic people, on the settlements of Cumans in Hungary and in the Balkans, on their role in the history of Eastern Europe, etc., as well as on the identification of their territories (the "*Poloveckoe Pole*", *Cumania* and *Dešt-i Qipčaq*). There are further studies on the "prehistory" of the Cumans (Kipchaks) and their place in the ethnogenetic processes of Central Asia, as well as their possible descendants in the Caucasus and the Crimea, in Central and Eastern Europe, in Asia Minor and Egypt. However, the historical discourse is broadly based on the needs of national historiographies, and this affects the interpretation of the source material. In the 20th century, the historical theme was enriched by the contributions of *archaeology*. Some of the main works in the area were published by archaeologists who compared the written sources with the results of their own investigations to locate the most important settlement areas and to characterise the material culture of the Cumans, hypothesising the organisation of their society, the specific of the nomadic economy and the peculiarities of their intellectual culture. In addition to the Cuman funerals and the discovered burial stock, the "Stone Babas" should also be mentioned here as bearers of complex information, which turned into a thematic subdivision of the "historical-archaeological" direction of research. The focus of the *linguistic studies*, which have been grouped around the analysis of the main written sources (*Codex Cumanicus*, *Slovo o polku Igoreve*) and types of linguistic materials also varies. This includes both onomastic data (ethnonyms, anthroponyms, toponyms), as well as individual Middle Turkic loanwords, which may have entered the Russian, Romanian, Hungarian, Bulgarian and other "Eastern European" languages from the Cuman dialects. In a wider perspective, research on the "Armeno-Kipchak" and "Arabo-Kipchak" sources is to be counted, which highlights the peculiarities of the early Kipchak language. Under the range of subject areas (or the sciences that serve the Cumanology), the *folkloristic* ones are finally worth mentioning, which has also contributed to the enrichment of our knowledge in the field. This includes the data incorporated in the works of V. Parhomenko and V. Gordlevsky, or the results of the comparative analyses of A. Tietze.

Thus, due to the work of several generations of scholars (historians and linguists, archaeologists and ethnologists, literary scholars and folklorists, Byzantinologists, Slavists, Turkologists and other "Orientalists"), much more is known about the Cumans now than a century ago, when the more intensive studies started on their origin, history and language.

At the beginnings of the Cumanology, a number of objective and subjective approaches were present. The introduction of a new source into the scientific circulation caused numerous publications which, in turn, catalysed further

works in the field. When an author studies the Cumans for a long time, he left a deep impact in the historiography. The peculiarities of the historiography of Cumans cannot be understood without taking into account the effects of the "environment" of the researcher because he is a "product" of his own time, which is reflected in his work in terms of methodology, as a scientific concept and also as a disposition towards the object. Therefore, the dominant social ideas, the political events and the cultural and/or intellectual attitudes typical of the time have always influenced the interpretation of the Cuman theme. It is enough to recall how long (even in the "enlightened" 18th century) scholars have used the biblical genealogies to find the place of the Cumans among the descendants of *Shem* and *Japheth* in determining their ethnicity. The Cumans were later equated with the *Uzes* in the 19th century and in the first decades of the 20th century, not only because of the lack of precision of the sources (the Hungarian word *kún*, i.e. "Cun", can sometimes also be related to the *Uzes* and the Pechenegs, and the archaic Byzantine appellation "Scythians" reveals nothing in itself, if it is not compared with other data), but also because of the tradition. The early Bulgarian Turkologist S. Džansāzov (1912), similarly to P. Suhm (18th c.), distinguished between Polovci and Cumans (he connected the former to the Pechenegs and the latter to the *Uzes*, *Oghuzes*). Later on, S. Mladenov (1931) also wrote about "Uzes-Cumans" in the spirit of C. Jireček (1876), referring to the pre-Ottoman Turkic traces in the language and to the problem of the *Gagauzes*.

The national approach to history is undoubtedly reflected in the Cuman theme. With a few exceptions, almost all former researchers treated the Cumans (*Cuns*, *Polovtsians*) mainly in close connection with the history of their own people. This is particularly the case with Russia and Hungary, where the Cumans have already become an object of increased scholarly interest in the 18th-19th centuries. The Hungarians later saw relatives of the ancient Magyars in them, looking for the continuity between Attila's Huns, their own ancestors and the additional settlements in Pannonia of splinter groups of the Pechenegs, Cumans and Jasses, which became an integral part of the Hungarian nation. The situation in Russia was quite different. The influence of the so-called "Tatar complex", which seems to have become one of the most important elements for the formation of the Russian national identity, was felt here for years (even in Soviet times) on the works in this field. The fight against the steppe is a permanent motif in the literature devoted to Kievan Rus', which contributed to the demarcation of the "own" (Slavs, sedentary farmers) from the "strangers" (Turks, nomads). This is also reflected in the idea of the guarding role of Russia, which protected Europe from the "Asian hordes", and therefore of its mission as a bulwark of the Christian civilisation against the Islamic pressure. This opposition was strengthened by the imperial expansion to the East, when the Russians became administrators and "civilisation carriers" in the conquered countries by helping to modernise them at the expense of the traditional local cultures. It was so deeply rooted in the public perception that the manifestation of a positive attitude towards the nomads and the emphasising

of the impact of their culture on the Russian Slavs met a serious resistance. Karamzin (1816), and after him, also Ustrialov (1837) defined the steppe peoples as "tireless malefactors", which delayed the economic development of Russia – a thesis later developed in the works of Aristov (1866) and the leading Russian historiographers. For Kunik (1855), the nomads were "unhistorical" and "inferior races of mankind". Pogodin (1857) also regarded the Polovcians as a "predatory" nomadic tribe living by prey. Soloviev (1870) argued the thesis of the "inherited" rivalry between Asia and Europe, the struggle between the "forest and the steppe" (between sedentary peasants and the wandering herdsmen people, between urban culture and the nomadic way of life, respectively), highlighting the role of the Russian resistance to the "steppe" for the fate of the European civilisation. During the Russian-Turkish wars of the 19th century, this theory has ideologically served the policy of imperial expansion and has been accepted by most Russian historians (such as Kliuchevsky, Chicherin, Miliukov). To the "struggle with the steppe", Kostomarov (1903) and Hrushevsky (1904) also added the idea of a struggle between the two state-forming principles in the Old Russian history – the federal (Ukrainian) and the unitary (Great-Russian) principle. They reiterated the thesis of Golubovsky (1884), i.e. the nomads contributed to the preservation of the old political order and to a weakening of the Russian South at the expense of the North. In fact, long before him, Zatyrevich (1874) believed that the struggle between settlers and nomads was also the "cause of movement" in the Russian history; the Eastern nomads have influenced the emergence of the Russian state and, with its expansion in the steppe, the nomads became a predominant population. The state was then "barbarised", and in time the conquerors and conquered mingled with one nation. Zatyrevich was, however, strongly criticised for this "constructed theory". In the first half of the 20th century, Pokrovsky (1925) tried to re-evaluate the idea of the nomads as a "dark Asian power" by noting that for the Kievan Rus' the East was the same, which later Western Europe became for Russia of Peter the Great. Parhomenko also denied the "civilising role" of the Kievan Rus', and he emphasised that the nomad culture was not poor and that Cumans were not barbarians. He (as well as Gordlevsky after him) was criticised by traditional-minded historians. Kudriashov (1947) presented Russia as a "shield of the European West" once again. Popov (1949) wrote about the "plundering being" of the nomads, about the "predatory hordes-states of the Crimea and Kazan", about the "Russian elemental force", and the Slavic swarms who drove the Polovcians away and smashed down "both the power of the Tatars and the strength of the Germans".

It is likely that similar ideas spread early in the Serbian and Bulgarian milieu under the influence of the older Russian historiography, but they were primarily directed against the "Turkish oppressors". In the national histories of the Balkan countries, the thesis of the hindering influence of the Ottoman rule on the development of the native population is also present. Their sacrificial role in the defence of the accesses to Europe is also evident. Even at the end of the 20th century, the Serbs / Bulgarians continued to see themselves as a

“shield” of the “Christian world” against a new “Islamic invasion” – an argument that was used for the mobilisation of Serbian nationalism in the process of the disintegration of former Yugoslavia. In Bulgaria, the “ethnic question” found a much civilised solution, but even there, the “Turkish problem” was already reflected for decades in the historical science. Even the idea of an “Iranian” origin of the old Bulgarians, renewed in the 1990s, shows the flavour of a distinct “Anti-Turkism” that can be traced back to the motives of M. Drinov in the 19th century in determining the “Slavic” Bulgarian origin. In this respect, both factors (the “Tatar complex” in Russia and the “Turkish problem” in Bulgaria) were in a certain correlation.

The dependence of the researchers on factors external to the science (the political and mental processes that determined their time) is to also be pursued in other countries. When the society *Turan* was founded in Hungary, Marquart ended his work on the Cumans, which he would complete in the coming years. However, while the “Turanians” stressed the constructive role of the Turks (hence also the Magyars) in the world history, the German Iranian expert did not hide his negative attitude towards the Cumans and the Ottoman Turks, who, according to him, proved themselves to be “total injurious robbers to the Cultural world”. He complained about the outcome of the Second Balkan War and condemned the German support for the “mass murderer” Abdulhamid II, but remained isolated amongst the “Turkophile feelings” of imperial Germany on the eve of the First World War. The political changes that followed had also influenced the studies in the field. The increased Romanian nationalism and the Romanian integration policy undertaken in Transylvania encouraged Rásonyi to write his “Valacho-Turcica”, where, as elsewhere, the importance of the “Turkic element” for the emergence of the Romanian statehood was shown. The changes in Turkey itself with the revolutionary modernisation of the country pursued by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk raised the question of the invention of a new “non-Ottoman” Turkish national identity. It was founded on the basis of the common “Turanian” origin which integrated the history and the cultural achievements of all Turkic (and Altaic) peoples. The “Asianitic” cultures of Asia Minor were added to this, arriving at the “Sun-language theory” which lays in the ground of the human development the ancestors of today’s Turks. In this context, the Cumans (the Kipchak Turks) became a building block in the Eastern European history, which also led to the rise of the medieval Bulgarian state and strengthened the “Turkish presence” in the Balkans long before the appearance of the Ottomans. They are also linked to the “Pomak Turks”, in which the Turkish nationalist propaganda sees descendants of the Cuman Muslims, who allegedly have “forgotten” their mother tongue because of the “constant Bulgarian pressure” and the Slavic-speaking environment.

Despite such pseudo-scientific theses in the Turkish national[istic] historiography, the great role of the Turkologists and the Orientalist schools (Russian, Hungarian, German, and more recently American too) is not to be negated for the rise of the Cumanological researches. The interpretations of the Turkic linguistic and folkloristic material combined with the data from the “Eastern” and

“Western” sources of history and the results of archaeology, comparative ethnology and anthropology allow much more complex characteristics of the studied object to be revealed. In this sense, the “Cuman historiography” is largely determined by the specific achievements of the international Turkological science.

After the abolition of a series of ideological restrictions in the last decades of the 20th century, the Cumanian theme became an object of profound interest in many new independent states in the post-Soviet space. It has been studied, on the one hand, as an element of their national historiography (in Ukraine, Kazakhstan and in Russia itself) and, on the other hand, in revising Eastern influences in the genesis of the Russian culture. Besides the already established representatives in this scholarly area, some young researchers from Central Asia (Nurken Kuseмбаev), Turkey (Kutluay Erk), Hungary (Szilvia Kovács) and Bulgaria (Konstantin Golev) have also successfully contributed to it. Additionally, this gives us hope for the further development of the Cumanology as a complex, serious, and all-round scientific discipline that extends our knowledge not only in the wide field of the nomad research but also in our own cultural past.

In Which Group Do the Orkhon Inscriptions Belong from a Diplomatic Point of View?

MEHMET TEZCAN*



*The Orkhon Inscriptions were written in the period of Second Turkic Khaganate (682–745). The Inscriptions of Bilge Kagan's brother Kül Tigin and himself are from 732 and 735 respectively. Bilge Kagan personally speaks in both inscriptions. Yollugh Tigin wrote both inscriptions with his nickname "atışi". It suggested that Orkhon Inscriptions have a type of "commemorative" character and the Kagan conveyed some information regarding the history of the Turkic Kaganate and gave some advices to his "Türk People". However, I prefer the idea that both inscriptions are a kind of "order, edict, and decree" on the basis of later inscriptions, or edicts (firmans) of several Turkish states. In the Orkhon Inscriptions, the term is the word *sabim* (lit. 'my word', that is 'my command'), in the firmans of the later Turkish rulers, for instance in the letters / edicts of Uzun Hasan Beg of Akkoyunlu, *sözümüz* (lit. 'our words', that is, 'our order') and finally *buyurdum ki* (lit. 'I ordered that') in the edicts of the sultans of Ottoman Empire. Likewise, the word *üge manu* (lit. 'my word') is mentioned with the same meaning but in Mongolian in the edicts of the rulers of Chinggisid and Timurid periods.*

Introduction

The Turks gave orders and instructions to the rulers, administrators of the states, dynasties, and some tribes subjected to them throughout their history based on the nomadic state traditions they had established in Asia. These instructions were sometimes written on stone and sometimes on paper. We see this feature not only at the Turks but also in states established by the Mongols who also had nomadic origin and who became Turkicised and Islamised from the 14th century on. These written orders were called *yarlıg* in Old Turkic, *jarlig* in Written Mongolian, *ferman* in Persian in the Islamic period, and occasionally *ferman* and *berat* in the Ottoman Turkic. In diplomatic documents, the word *sav(im)* 'my word' was used in the *Narratio* or *Expositio* after the Unvans (*Intitu-*

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latio) in the Orkhon Inscriptions. The expression *sözüüm, sözüm, sözüümiz, sözüümiz* ‘my/our word’ was used in Middle-Turkic) from the 14th century on. The Mongolian equivalent is *üge manu* ‘our word’. From the 14th century onwards, the Mongols used this expression not only in their edicts but also on their coins. The Golden Horde, the Crimean Khans, the Timurids and the Akkoyunids also used the expression *sözüüm*. At the beginning, the Mongolian form *üge manu* was used by the Great Mongol khans and their successors, the Chaghataids and the Ilkhanids; Timur (Küregen) used the word *sözüüm* rather than *üge manu*. In the documents of the Ottoman Empire, this order shape became *buyurdum ki* ‘I have ordered that’ particularly in the 15th and 16th century.

In this paper, we will argue that (1) the word *sab(üm)* in the Orkhon Inscriptions is used diplomatically and (2) Bilge Kaghan’s Inscription is a diplomatic edict due to the word *sab(üm)*. We will mention similar expressions in the edicts (*yarlıg*s and *fermans*) of later Turkic and Mongolian states in order to confirm our opinion.

1. The Word *Sav(üm)* in the Orkhon Inscriptions

In addition to the Orkhon inscriptions, the word *sav* is also present in the Tonyukuk and the Küli Chor inscriptions in the forms *sav+i* ‘his/their word’, *sav+iğ* ‘word+Accusative’, *sav+üm* ‘my word’ etc. The word has been translated as ‘speech, saying, news, information, message, invitation, call, notification, parole’.¹ What really interests us is the instance of the word *sav* in the beginning of the East Side of Bilge Kaghan Inscription (BK E1) and in the inscription known as ‘Tengri Kaghan’ (BKT S13), where the Kaghan addressed to the TÜR(Ü)K people and the begs.²

¹ H. N. Orkun, *Eski Türk Yazıtları*. [Old Turkic Inscriptions] Ankara 1987, 847; T. Tekin, *Orhon Yazıtları*. [Orkhon Inscriptions] Ankara 2014, 164; *id.*, *Orhon Türkçesi Grameri*. [A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic] İstanbul 2003, 251; V. Thomsen, *Orhon Yazıtları Araştırmaları*. [Studies in Orkhon Inscriptions] Transl. by. V. Köken, Ankara 2011, 238, n. 67; H. Şirin, *Kül Tigin Yazıtı –Notlar*. [Inscription of Kül Tigin-Notes] İstanbul 2015, 356; E. Aydın, *Orhon Yazıtları (Kül Tigin, Bilge Kağan, Tonyukuk, Ongi, Küli Çor)*. [Orkhon Inscriptions] Konya 2012, 177; A. Berta, *Sözlerimi İyi Dinleyin... Türk ve Uygur Runik Yazıtlarının Karşılaştırmalı Yayını*. [Listen well my words... A Comparative Edition of the Türk and Uighur Runic Inscriptions] transl. E. Yılmaz, Ankara 2010, 190, 192; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung alterer Neupersischer Geschichtsquellen, vor allem der Mongolen- und Timuridenzeit*. Wiesbaden 1967, Vol. III: 292 (after H. N. Orkun and S. E. Malov).

² BK E1: “Tengri teg tengri yaratmış türük bilge kağan sabım kangım türük bilge kağan ... altı sir tokuz oguz eki ediz kerekülüg begleri bodunu [... tü]rük teng]ri [...]” (Tekin, *Orhon Yazıtları*, 50).
BKT S13: “Tengri teg tengri yar[at]mış türük bilge [kağan] sabım kangım türük bilge kağan olurtukında türük amtı begler kisre tarduş begler küil çor başlayı ulayı şadapıt begler öngre tölis begler apa tarkan]” (Tekin, *Orhon Yazıtları*, 68).

According to L. Bazin,³ the Inscription of Bilge Kaghan was erected by his son and successor Tengri Kaghan, on 20th September, 735, after Bilge Kaghan's death (734). However, in most parts of the inscription, it is Bilge Kaghan himself who addresses the people and Trk begs.⁴ According to T. Tekin, the speaker is Tengri Kaghan from the 6th word in the 10th line on, in the 'Tengri Kaghan Inscription' on the South Side of the Bilge Kaghan Inscription. It is open to debate regarding whether the speaker who spoke in both the 1st line on the East Side of the Bilge Kaghan Inscription (BK E1) and in the 13th line of "Tengri Kaghan Inscription" (BKT S13) is Bilge Kaghan or, Tengri Kaghan.⁵ I think that he is the latter.⁶

Among the first researchers on the Orkhon Inscriptions, only V. Thomsen interpreted the word *sab(im)* as 'command, order' (in this respect perhaps 'edict').⁷ It is also noteworthy that the word *saw* in Maḥmd al-Kāšġari's Dictionary (DLT) from the 11th century was recorded with the meaning 'letter' (Ar. *risāla*)⁸, which is an addition to the meaning 'word' (Ar. *kalām*). A. Cafero-

³ L. Bazin, *Eski Trk Dnyasında Kronoloji Sistemleri*. Transl. V. Kken, Ankara 2011, 199. See also Tekin, *Orhon Yazıtları*, 8.

⁴ Tekin, *Orhon Yazıtları*, 8.

⁵ Chinese sources, such as the *Tangshu*, *Xin Tangshu*, the *Zizhi Tongjian* and the *Wenxian Tongkao*, which gives information about the kaghans of the Turks after Bilge Kaghan. According to them, Yiran Kehan 伊然可汗, Bilge Kaghan's second son succeeded his father. A few years later Dengli Kehan 登利可汗 (Tengri Kaghan), Bilge Kaghan's third son ascended to the throne. Thus, Tengri Kaghan must be the ruler at the time of erection of the BK Inscription. He erected the Inscription in the name of his father but the narrator is himself, see A. B. Ercilasun, *Trk Kaġanlıġı ve Trk Beng Taşları*. [The Turkish Kaghānate and Turkish Eternal Inscriptions] İstanbul 2016, 318–322.

⁶ Árpád Berta interpreted and translated the related text in BK E1 so: "[Nekem] Tengrihez hasonlatos, Tengri [által] teremtetett *trk Bilge kagán* [nak a] szavam [a kvetkez]:" '[My,] Trk Bilge Kaghan[s] word, who is just like Heaven and is created [by] Heaven, [is the following]' He also interpreted the text called 'Tengri Kaghan' in BK S13, interfering clearly to the text so: "[Nekem] Tengrihez hasonlatos, [allítólág] Tengri teremtetette *trk Bilge* [kagánról a] szavam [a kvetkez]" '[My word (about) Trk Bilge (Kaghan), who is just like Heaven and is created by Heaven, is the following]' See Á. Berta, *Szavaimat jól halljátok... A trk és uigur rovásírásos emlékek kritikai kiadásá* [Listen well My Words... A Comparative Edition of the Trk and Uighur Runic Inscriptions]. Szeged 2004, 193, 202; Berta, *Szlerimi İyi Dinleyin...*, 192, 200. If we consider the *yarlıġs* and *fermans* of Turco-Mongol states after Turkic Kaghānate, where the expressions *ge manu*, *szm* and *szmz* are present, it is clear that Berta's did not mistranslate the text. Especially the person, who speaks in BK S13 is not Bilge Kaghan but Tengri Kaghan, the actual ruler.

⁷ In French 'mande' ('ce que je vous manse') [here is my parole to you!]. Thomsen, *Orhon Yazıtları Araştırmaları*, 178.

⁸ Kāšġarlı Mahmud, *Dīvānu Lugāti't-Trk. Giriş-Metin-Çeviri-Notlar-Dizin*. [Dīvānu Lugāti't-Trk. Introduction-Text-Translation-Notes-Edition] ed. Ahmet B. Ercilasun, Ziyat Akkoyunlu Ankara 2014, 411.

glu, the first linguist in Turkey, separated the word *sab* / *sav* from the word *söz* and interpreted the former as 'the word', but the latter as 'the word, command, order' in both 1934⁹ and in 1968.¹⁰

1.1 About the pronunciation of the word Sab(ım)

W. Radloff and V. Thomsen, who published the Orkhon Inscriptions for the first time, both interpreted the word *sab(ım)* with various meanings, and wrote it with *b*.¹¹ Even these two scholars observed that the word appeared as *sab* and *saw* (*sav*) in the subsequent Uighur period and showed that the sound *b* was converted to *v* (spelled with <w>) in the Uighur and Chagataid periods.¹² In the studies on the Old Turkic Dictionary, the word was given as *sab* in the DTS,¹³ whereas G. Clauson preferred to read it as *sav* in his various works and gave the meaning as 'a (full-length) speech'. He separated *sav* from the word *söz* 'a single word, or short utterance'.¹⁴ Clauson interpreted the word *sub* 'water' as *suv*. According to him, the letters <b¹> and <b²> in the Old Turkic Runic inscriptions met both *b* and *v* sounds.¹⁵ Many Turkish researchers and linguists, especially H. N. Orkun and T. Tekin, have transcribed such words with *b*. Recent Turkish researchers and linguists, such as C. Alyılmaz, O. Mert and H. Şirin User, have accepted this sound as *b* in their publications regarding the Orkhon and Uighur inscriptions.¹⁶

The Hungarian scholar Á. Berta noted that the phonetic value of *b*, which was rendered by the letter in *sab* was a 'labial *b*', and transcribed it as *β*. Its

⁹ See Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente*, 292; Caferoğlu Ahmet, *Uygur Sözlüğü*. [A Dictionary of Uighur] İstanbul 1934, 148, 153, 161.

¹⁰ A. Caferoğlu, *Eski Uygur Türkçesi Sözlüğü*. [A Dictionary of Old Uighur-Turkic] İstanbul 1968, 192.

¹¹ W. Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei* (Neue Folge) Sankt-Peterburg 1897, 130, 177; W. Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei* (Zweite Folge) Sankt-Petersburg 1899, 100.

¹² Thomsen, *Orhon Yazıtları Araştırmaları*, 238, note 67.

¹³ *Drevnetyurkskiy Slovar'*. Ed. V. M. Nadeljaev, D. M. Nasilov, E. R. Tenişev and A. M. Şčerbak Leningrad 1969, 478.

¹⁴ Sir G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of re-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford 1972, 782–783.

¹⁵ Sir G. Clauson, *Turkish and Mongolian Studies*. London 1962, 77; see again H. Şirin User, *Köktürk ve Ötüken Uygur Kağanlığı Yazıtları. Söz Varlığı İncelemesi*. [Inscriptions of the Türk and Uighur Kaghanates of the Ötüken. A Study on the Vocabulary] Konya 2010, 54.

¹⁶ See for example C. Alyılmaz, *Orhun Yazıtlarının Bugünkü Durumu*. [The Present State of the Orkhon Inscriptions] Ankara 2005, 9, 10, 12; C. Alyılmaz, *İpek Yolu Kavşağının Ölümsüzlük Eserleri*. [Immortality Works of the Junction of Silk Road] Ankara 2015, 564–565; O. Mert, *Ötüken Uygur Dönemi Yazıtlarından Tes-Tariat-Şine Us*. [The Tes-Tariat-Şine Us among the Inscriptions of Ötüken Uighuric Period] Ankara 2009, 5.

pronunciation was close to *v*.¹⁷ M. Erdal interpreted word internal *-b-* and word final *-b* sounds as *-v-*, *-v*, respectively. He identified that all of them should be read as *v*.¹⁸ The Turkish linguists M. Ölmez and E. Aydın, -following by Erdal and Berta, and based on the modern pronunciation in Turkic languages, transcribed this sound directly as *v*, without explanation. Ölmez agrees with Berta' and Erdal's opinions.¹⁹

2. Relationship of the word Sab(im) with emir 'order' and ferman 'edict'

As mentioned above, the word *sab* generally means 'word' in the Orkhon Inscriptions. However, when the ruler is considered, the situation changes and the ruler's word to the people is regarded as an 'order'. In fact, we see this obvious feature as 'my word, our word' in Turkic in the edicts of some Turkic states in the 15th and 16th centuries. G. Doerfer also gave a long list based on many documents in Turkic and Mongolian seen in Islamic sources regarding this subject.²⁰ In some cases, this word is mentioned in the form *sözi* '(ruler)'s order', and in the same way we see this expression in the form of *yarlıgi* '(ruler's / khan's) yarligh / order'. The expression *sab* of the Old Turkic Inscriptions is comparable with the information found in some Chinese documents dating back to the 6th and 8th centuries:

When the First Türk Kaghanate was divided into the two (582), Shabolue (Shetu / Ishbara, 581-587), in the letter sent to the Chinese Emperor of Sui Dynasty (581-618) by Kaghan of the Eastern Turks in 584, he claimed that he was equal to the Chinese and he called himself "*born in the Heaven, guarded by the Heaven, Great Turkic Tianzi* (Great Turkic Son of the God)" and said "*there is no difference between you and us*".²¹ Subsequently, Shabolue, who was pushed by Abo, Kaghan of the Western Turks and defeated Abo with the help of the Chi-

¹⁷ Berta, *Sözlerimi İyi Dinleyin...*, 13.

¹⁸ In detail, see M. Erdal, *A Grammar of Old Turkic*. Leiden 2004, 63.

¹⁹ See M. Ölmez, "Eski Türk Yazıtlarının Yeni Bir Yayımı Nasıl Olmalıdır?" [How should a New Publication of Old Turkic Inscriptions be like?] In: *I. Uluslararası Uzak Asya'dan Ön Asya'ya Eski Türkçe Bilgi Şöleni, 18-20 Kasım 2009, Afyonkarahisar*. [The First International Symposium on Ancient Turkish from the Far Eastern to the Near Eastern Asia, November, 18th-20th, 2009] Ed. C. Alyılmaz, Ö. Ay, M. Yılmaz, Afyonkarahisar 2010, 212; *id.*, *Orhon-Uygur Hanlığı Dönemi Moğolistan'daki Eski Türk Yazıtları. Metin-Çeviri-Sözlük*. [Old Turkic Inscriptions in Mongolia during the Periods of Orkhon Turkic and Uighur Kaghanates. Text-Translation-Vocabulary] Ankara 2012, 48, 123; Aydın, *Orhon Yazıtları*, 177. Aydın shows as *v* all of *b* sounds in the words just like *yabgu*, *yablak*, *ab*, *sub* in not only *Ton*. but also *BK*, *KT* and *Ongi*.

²⁰ See Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente*, 294-296.

²¹ Y. Pan, *Son of Heaven and Heavenly Qaghan: Sui-Tang China and its Neighbours*. Western Washington 1997, 103.

nese, used the following expressions while introducing himself at the beginning of the long letter written to Wendi (581-605), Emperor of the Sui in 585: "I, khan of the Great Tujue, Yilijuli she Mohe Shiboluo Kehan and the vassal of the Sui (Shetu) say (my) word: Envoy Yuqingzi, who is carrying the title of Shangshu Yuyue, came to me and I accepted your order with an infinite surrender ...".²²

In Doerfer's opinion, the word "sabım" must have been used in the original Turkic language of the Chinese letter.²³ In the related passages of *Suishu*, ch. 84 about the Eastern Turks, Chinese words *shu* 書 and *shu yue* 書曰²⁴ are translated as 'gramota (official message, document)' into Russian.²⁵ With the expression of J. K. Skaff, Shabolue was the first Turk ruler known to use the long Turkic-Chinese honorary title and "to coin a title of simultaneous kingship", and the expression he used in this letter was an ideological discovery.²⁶ The Turk ruler was trying to gain superiority for himself by approaching *Zhongguo* (China) and accepting its supremacy.²⁷ It is noteworthy that he used an expression in his letter in Chinese and Turkic in the meaning 'order, edict'.

When the expressions of the introduction sections of the Mongolian, Chinese and Arabic letters / *yarlıqs* from 13th-14th centuries are compared to each other, it is seen that they were generally the same.²⁸ There is a word in all of

²² Liu Mau-tsai, *Çin Kaynaklarına Göre Doğu Türkleri*. [Die chinesische Nachrichten zur Ost-Türken] transl. E. Kayaoğlu, D. Banoglu 2006, 76.

²³ Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente*, 292.

²⁴ See Liu Mau-tsai, *Çin Kaynaklarına Göre Doğu Türkleri*, 76; A. Taşağıl, *Gök-Türkler I-II-III* [The Blue-Türks] Ankara 2012, 156.

²⁵ N. Y. Bichurin, *Sobranie Svedeniy o Narodah, obitavshih v Sredney Azii drevnie vremena*. Moskva-Leningrad 1950, 237.

²⁶ J. K. Skaff, *Sui-Tang China and Its Turko-Mongol Neighbors: Culture, Power, and Connections, 580-800*. Oxford 2012, 116.

²⁷ See P. B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples: Ethnogenesis and State Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East*. Wiesbaden 1992, 132.

²⁸ In Chinese: "Chángshēng tiān qì lì dàfú yínhù zhùli huángdì shèngzhǐ" 長生天氣力裏。大福應護助裏。皇帝。聖旨。 (For this diplomatical formula see Chavannes (Ed.), "Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie chinoises de l'époque mongole", *T'oung Pao*, 5:4 (1904), 395-396; Chavannes (Ed.), "Inscriptions et pièces de Chancellerie chinoises de l'époque mongole", *T'oung Pao*, 9:3 (1908), 386-389, 390-395; Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente*, 293. In Mongolian: *Möngke tengri-yin kücündür. Yeke su cali-yin iken-dur. Ka'an carlıg manu; Mongke tengri-yin kücündür. hagan-u sudur. Argun. üge manu* (Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente*, 292-293; Chavannes, *Inscriptions et pièces...* (1904), 395-396). In Arabic: *bi-kuvvati'llâhi taâlâ bi-ikbâli kâ'ân. Farmânu Ahmeda ilâ sultâni Mısır; Bi-smillâhi er-rahmâni er-rahîm bi-kuvvati llâhi taâlâ. kelâmu Kalâvun ilâ es-sultâni Ahmed* (Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente*, 293-294); In Old Turkic (BK and so-called "Tengri Kagan"): *tengri teg tengri yaratmış Tür(ü)k bilge kağan. Sabım* (Tekin, *Orhon Yazıtları*, 50-51, 68-69; Thomsen, *Orhon Yazıtları Araştırmaları*, 178-179, 194-195; Tekin, *Orhon Yazıtları*, 50-51, 68-69; Berta, *Sözlerimi İyi Dinleyin...*, 139, 176; Aydın, *Orhon Yazıtları*, 77, 99; Ölmez, *Orhon-Uygur Hanlığı Dönemi*, 123, 132).

them with the meaning of 'ruler's word, order'. These expressions are identical with the Turkic word *sab(im)*, the statement of Bilge Kaghan himself.

3. The Words *Üge manu* and *Sözümüz* used in the Edicts during the Periods of the Golden Horde, Ilkhanids, Timurids and Akkoyunlu States

Among the rulers of the Ilkhanid State, who usually use the introductory expressions in Mongolian in the edicts and letters, Keykhatu,²⁹ Abaka, Argun, Oljaito and Gazan Khans' samples of letter are available. In these *yarlıgs*, the expressions *üge manu* 'our word', and sometimes '*yarlıg manu* 'our order, command', can be seen in the *Intitulatio*.³⁰ This is understood to be the same with "*sab(im)*" in the Orkhon Inscriptions. The *fermans* / edicts of the Djalayirids and the Timurids, which sustained the tradition of the same Mongol diplomatic formula also involve the expression *üge manu*.³¹ In one or two example(s), the statement of *sözüm* 'my word' is present, for example, in a letter by Timur Küregen (H. 804 / M. 1401), *sözüm* and *sözümüz* in the letters by Jehanshah (857/1453) and Sultan Abû Sa'îd Küregen (1468).³² The rulers of the Golden-Horde, who used Turkic language more frequently in the diplomacy and who were under the influence of the Kipchak Turks, directly included the words *sözüm* 'my word' and *sözümüz* 'our word'.³³ The Crimean Khans, who continued the tradition, also used the expressions *sözüm*, *sözümüz* in many edicts and letters.³⁴ In the Turkmen States established in the 15th century in the territory of Eastern Anatolia and Iran, Uzun Hasan Pādshāh and Ya'qūb, the Akkoyu-

²⁹ The first Ilkhanid *ferman* in Persian is belonged to Keikhatu and dated to H. 692 (1293). The *ferman* is in Persian, but the first three lines in which the *elkāb* is, are written in Turkic. See A. Soudavar, "İlk Farsça İlhanlı Fermanı," [The First Ilkhanid Firman] *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi*, 6 (2002), 182.

³⁰ Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente*, 293.

³¹ For the Djalayirid examples, see G. Doerfer, "Ein Persisch-Mongolischer Erlass des Ğalayiriden Şeyh Oveys. II. Die Mongolische Fassung," *Central Asiatic Journal*, XIX:1-2 (1975), 58, 70; G. Doerfer, "Ein Persisch-Mongolischer Erlass des Ğalayiriden Şeyh Oveys. II. Die Mongolische Fassung," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 125:2 (1975), 341.

³² See L. Fekete, "Arbeiten der Grusinischen Orientalistik auf dem Gebiete der Türkischen und Persischen Paläographie und die Frage der Formel *Sözümüz*," *Acta Orientalia Scientiarum Hungaricae*, VII:1 (1957), 14; L. Fekete, *Einführung in die Persische Paläographie*. 101 Persische Dokumente. Budapest 1977, 72-73.

³³ For example, see A. O. Hasan, "Temir Kutluğ Yarlıgı," [Yarlıg of Temir-Qutluğ] *Türkiyat Mecmuası* (1926-33), 212.

³⁴ See Fekete, *Arbeiten der Grusinischen Orientalistik*, 13; V. V. Veljaminov-Zernov, *Kırım Yurtına ve Ol Taraflarına Dair Bolgan Yarlıglar ve Hatlar. Kırım Hanlığı Tarihine Dair Kaynaklar. Giriş-Tıpkıbasım*. [Yarlıgs and Letters belonged to the Crimea and its environment. Sources to the History of the Crimean Khanate. Introduction-Facsimile] ed. M. Ozyetkin, I. Kamalov, Ankara 2009, 3, 5, 8, 9, 13, 18, 19, etc.

nid rulers,³⁵ and some rulers of the Karakoyunlu State, used the words *sözüm* 'my word' and *sözümüz* 'our word'. Some rulers of the Safavid Empire, which was established in the same region in the 16th century after the Akkoyunlu, also used the words *sözüm* and *sözümüz* in their letters, as well as Shah Ismail Safavi, the founder of the Safavid dynasty.³⁶ Fekete, Jahangir Qaim-Makami and Doerfer collected many examples of these subjects.³⁷

4. The expression ... buyurdum ki 'I ordered that' in the Ottoman Empire Documents

The Ottoman Empire was originally established as a Turkmen state and generally followed the practice of the Ilkhanids in diplomacy and correspondence. In numerous Ottoman edicts, correspondences and decrees (*fermans*, *berats* and *hükms*), the expressions *buyurdum ki...* 'I ordered that', *hük-m-i şerîfîmile buyurdum ki...* 'I ordered with my edict that' or *hük-m oldur ki* 'the order is that', *malum ola ki* 'being premonition, 'one should know that', *gerekdir ki...* 'it is required that' are present after the *Intitulatio* (Unvan), at the end of *Narratio* / *Expositio* (Nakil/Iblağ), in the beginning of *Dispositio* (*emr* / *hük-m* 'given order').³⁸ It is interesting that after winning the battle of Otlukbeli against Uzun Hasan of the Akkoyunlu in 1473, Mehmed, the Conqueror, the Ottoman ruler used the word *sözüm* in his *fetihname*, written to a Turkic ruler in the East in Uighur and Arabic alphabets. This valuable document was found in the *Library of Topkapı Sarayı* in Istanbul and published by R. Rachmati Arat.³⁹ and the document has the word *sözüm*, and is named as *yarlığ* 'edict', i.e. *ferman* both in

³⁵ "Ebu'n-Nasr Hasan Bahadır, sözümüz" (Fekete, *Einführung in die Persische Paläographie*, 187–200), "Abu'l-Muzafer Ismail Bahadır, sözümüz" (id., *Arbeiten der Grusinischen Orientalistik*, 14; id., *Einführung in die Persische Paläographie*, 308–309, 316–317).

³⁶ Id., *Arbeiten der Grusinischen Orientalistik*, 14. See also *ibid.*, 16, Abb. 3; 18, Abb.5.

³⁷ See on this matter, for example, Fekete, *Arbeiten der Grusinischen Orientalistik*, 13–20; id., *Einführung in die Persische Paläographie*; Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente*, 294–296; Bert G. Fragner, "FARMĀN," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, 2016, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/farman> (accessed on 07 June 2016) and Pl. IIa, IIb.

³⁸ Fekete, *Einführung in die osmanisch-türkische Diplomatie der türkischen Botmassigkeit in Ungarn*. Budapest 1926, xxxvii–xxxviii, 25; M. T. Gökbilgin, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Medeniyet Tarihi Çerçevesinde Osmanlı Paleografya ve Diplomatiği İlmî*. [Ottoman Palaeography and Diplomatics in the frame of the Civilization of Ottoman Empire] İstanbul 1992, 70; M. S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Belgelerinin Dili (Diplomatiği)*. [The Language of Ottoman Documents. Diplomatics] İstanbul 1994, 109–110, 121, 129.

³⁹ R. R. Arat, "Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Yarlığı" [Yarlığ of Fatih Sultan Mehmed], *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, vol. VI (1936–39), 285–322; id., "Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Yarlığı", *Makaleler* [Articles], Vol. I, ed. Osman Fikri Sertkaya, Ankara 1987, 783–820; id., «Un yarlık de Mehmed II, le Conquerant», *Makaleler*, 821–885 and Pl. I–XX.

itself and by Arat.⁴⁰ Thus, the ruler of the Ottoman Empire seems to have maintained the Old Turkic correspondence and diplomacy tradition by using the expressions *sözüm* and *buyurdum ki...* in the *fermans*.

We must note an important matter: J. Reychman thought that the expression (*sözümüz*) was used by the Muslim Turkmen states in the 15th and 16th centuries as a standard formula in the documents issued by rulers under Persian cultural influence.⁴¹ L. Fekete's opinion was that (according to J. Reychman and A. Zajackowski) "the occurrence of the formula (*sözümüz*) in those documents had the character of a graphic symbol corresponding to the *tuğra* in Ottoman documents".⁴² We think that these proposals are incorrect, since all of the Turkmen states mentioned used this word *sözüm* or *sözümüz*, continuing a native Turkic tradition maintained by Uighur scribes, and not because of Persian influence. Furthermore, the Ottoman *tughra* and the expressions *sözüm* and *sabim* are not graphic symbols: Mahmud al-Kashgari, explained the word *tugrag* in the *DLT*, clearly stated that it is a word belonging to the Oghuz, but the Turks who use *tamga* do not know it.⁴³

In conclusion, we believe that the expression *sab(ım)* in the Bilge Kaghan inscription, and in the documents belonging to the later periods, means 'order, edict, command'. As it is expressed clearly in the inscription, Bilge Kaghan or Tengri Kaghan call out his people, the *begs* of the subjected tribes, and briefly gives instructions and orders to them. While Bilge Kaghan's orders were written on stones in the 8th century, the orders of the later Turkic and Mongolian rulers were written on paper. Unfortunately, there are no written monuments belonging to earlier times in which the corresponding expressions would be interpreted as 'order, decree'. However, let us remember that even in the period of the Ilkhānids in the 14th century, some edicts called *yarliğ* were also written on stones, and hung on the city's gates and they were also called "*yarliğ*".

⁴⁰ Stroke 197: "*mühürlü yarliğ yiberildi*" ('a sealed *yarliğ* was sent'); strokes 1-3: "*(h)uvel-ğan-i all-a ta'al-a iney(e)t-i-tin sultan Mehmet han söz-üm...*" (id., *Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Yarlığı*, 287; id., *ibid.*, *Makaleler*, 785; id., *Un yarlık de Mehmed II, le Conquerant*, *ibid.*, 825, 837. Again, see Gök, *An Analysis and Comparison of Fermân and Berât in Ottoman Diplomats*, 10.

⁴¹ J. Reychman-A. Zajackowski, *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomats*. Paris 1968, 154; trad. in Turkish: J. Reychman-A. Zajackowski, *Osmanlı - Türk Diplomatiği El Kitabı (Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomats)*. İstanbul 1993, 179.

⁴² Reychman & Zajackowski, *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomats*, 156; id., *Osmanlı - Türk Diplomatiği El Kitabı*, 179.

⁴³ Kâşgarlı Mahmud, *Dîvânü Lügât i't-Türk*, 202; Mahmūd al-Kâşgārī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Dîwān Lūgāt at-Turk)*. Edited and Translated with Introduction and Indices by R. Dankoff in collaboration with J. Kelly, Part III, Washington, D.C. 1985, 199: "*tuğrāğ* "royal seal" "Oğuz not Türk."

An Empire Within an Empire? Ethnic and Religious Realities in the Lands of Nogai (c.1270-1300)

ALEKSANDAR UZELAC¹



The paper focuses on the internal conditions of the lands of Nogai, a side member of the Juchid lineage, stretching at the height of his power from the basin of the Lower Dnieper in the east to the western fringes of the Wallachian plains. The Muslim, Latin, Byzantine, and Slavic contemporaries provide enough data for the critical assessment of the ethnic, religious, and demographic realities in Nogai's Ulus. His territories included the heterogeneous urban communities in the Danube Delta and the northern Black Sea coast, and also the vast steppe areas inhabited by the descendants of Cumans, Alans and other pre-Mongol populations. Mongol newcomers were insignificant in numbers. Although Nogai formally converted to Islam, the presence of Catholic and Orthodox missionaries, Muslims, as well as a small Buddhist community, are documented in his lands. Nogai's Ulus represented a heterogeneous multi-ethnic and multi-confessional space, united by his charisma and power, as well as Chinggisid ideology.

During the last three decades of the 13th century, undoubtedly the most influential person in the Juchid ulus (the Golden Horde) was Nogai (c.1240-1299/1300), a member of the side branch of the ruling lineage.² His turbulent career and his war against khan Tokhta (1291-1312) became an object of numerous studies, but in most of them, the internal conditions in the Pontic steppes during Nogai's era have been studied marginally. Considering that this topic has not been systematically investigated so far, the aim of this article

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² Nogai's genealogy (he was a son of Tatar, grandson of Buval, grand-grandson of Juchi and his concubine Karachin-khatun) was recorded, with small mutual discrepancies, in Arabic and Persian sources: V. G. Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov, otnosiashchikhsia k istorii Zolotij Ordy*, T. I: *Izvocheniia iz arabskikh istochnikov*, Sankt-Peterburg 1884, 109 (*Baybars al-Manşūri*); Rashid ad-Din, *Sbornik letopisei*, II, ed. Iu. P. Verkhovskii and B. I. Pankratov, Moskva-Leningrad, 75-76; *Istoriia Kazkhastana v persidskikh istochnikakh*. T. III: *Mu'izz al-Ansab*, ed. Sh. H. Vohidov et al., Almaty 2006, 43.

is to shed light on it, and to provide a preliminary overview of the ethnic and religious realities in his domains.

Before turning our attention to the main issues of this article, some remarks need to be made about the nature and background of Nogai's power. It was frequently thought that his settlement in the Pontic steppes in 1266-70 was an independent action. However, according to the reports of two contemporaries and our most important sources for Nogai's career, the Mamluk historian *Baybars al-Manṣūrī* (c.1247-1325) and the Byzantine author Georgios Pachymeres (c.1242-1310), Nogai's establishment in the region was sanctioned by the khan *Möngke Temür* (1266-1282) and his influential wife Jijak (Chichek)-khatun.³ Nogai enjoyed a complex position in the political hierarchy of the Golden Horde. He was a *beylerbey* or *karachi-bey*,⁴ also head of 'the right wing' of the Golden Horde,⁵ and following the death of the khan *Möngke Temür* in 1282 he emerged as *āqā*, or the elder of the Juchid lineage.⁶ Although he gradually managed to achieve his *de facto* independent status towards the khans in Sarai, Nogai's lands remained an inseparable part of the Golden Horde. In historiography, he was frequently characterised as a 'kingmaker', or a grey eminence, but the sources show that Nogai did not personally participate in the various political conspiracies and coups surrounding the frequent changes on the Juchid throne, except in one case. Namely, Nogai played a prominent role only in the demise of khan *Töle-Bugha* (1287-1291) and the ascendance of his successor Tokhta in 1291.⁷ It was a bitter irony that the enthronement of his young protege carried the seeds of Nogai's ultimate downfall.

The precise borders of Nogai's domains are impossible to determine, a fact that owes more to the nature of the territorial division within the Golden Horde than to the lack of sources. Nogai certainly controlled the regions

³ Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov*, I, 109 (*Baybars al-Manṣūrī*); Georges Pachymérès, *Relations Historiques*, II, ed. A. Failler, V. Laurent, Paris 1984, 444-445.

⁴ Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov*, I, 101 (*Baybars al-Manṣūrī*); U. Schamiloglu, "The Qarachi Beys of the Later Golden Horde. Notes on the Organization of the Mongol World Empire," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 4 (1984) 283-297; I. L. Izmailov, "Voisko Ulusa Dzhuchi vo vtoroi polovine XIII-XV vv: struktura komandovaniia, sposob komplektovaniia, chislennost' i roda voisk," In *Voennoe delo Zolotoi ordy: problemy i perspektivi izucheniia*, ed. I. M. Mirgaleev, Kazan' 2011, 24.

⁵ Rashid ad-Din, *Sbornik letopisei*, II, 105; Pachymeres called Nogai the leader of 'The Western Tatars' (τοὺς δυτικούς Τοχάρους), in order to distinguish his subjects from the rest of the population of the Golden Horde, Georges Pachymérès, *Relations Historiques*, I, ed. A. Failler, V. Laurent, Paris 1984, 242-243.

⁶ With this title Nogai is attested only once, in a letter of Ilkhanid ruler Ahmad Tegüder (1282-84) to the Mamluk sultan in 1282/3, J. Pfeiffer, "Ahmad Tegüder's Second Letter to Qala'un (682/1283)," In: *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East: Studies in Honour of John E. Woods*, ed. J. Pfeiffer, S. A. Quinn, E. Tucker, Wiesbaden 2006, 189.

⁷ Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov*, I, 106-108 (*Baybars al-Manṣūrī*); G. Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, New Haven 1953, 184-185; G. A. Fedorov-Davydov, *Obshchestvennyi stroi Zolotoi Ordy*, Moskva 1973, 72.

stretching as far as the Lower Dnieper to the east, possibly including the areas in the Dnieper-Don interfluve.⁸ He also exercised a strong influence in the Crimean peninsula.⁹ In the west, he gradually expanded his power, and around 1290 he managed to take control of the Wallachian plains, as far as the Danubian gorge of the Iron Gates, bordering the modern states of Serbia and Romania.¹⁰ The seat of Nogai's power was in the lands between the Lower Dniester and the Lower Danube.¹¹ The town of Sakchi (Isaccea), situated at the place of the ancient Roman fortress of Noviodunum in the Danube delta, served as his unofficial capital. In this place, a numerous series of coins were minted with Greek and Arabic inscriptions, but bearing Nogai's own tamgha.¹² From the Danube delta, Nogai threatened Byzantium, exercised suzerainty over the politically fragmented Bulgarian lands and, for a short time (c.1293-1298), over the Serbian kingdom.¹³ From the geographic point of view, Nogai's 'state' formed a sharp and compact wedge, nailed between the Carpathians and the Balkan Peninsula, deep within central and southeastern Europe. At the height of his power, Nogai thus managed to extend the Juchid influence further west and southwest than any of his predecessors, or successors.

The population of Nogai's lands was diverse. It included both pastoral nomads and semi-nomadic pastoralists on the one hand and urban communities

⁸ Rashid ad-Din, *Sbornik letopisei*, II, 85-86; Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov*, I, 111 (*Baybars al-Manşūrī*); cf. B. Cherkas, "Territorial'noe ustroistvo Ulusa Dzhuchi (territoriia zapadnee Dona)," In: *Zolotaia orda v mirovoi istorii*, ed. R. Hakimov and M. Favero, Kazan' 2016, 162-163.

⁹ Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov*, I, 108, 111, n. 1. (*Baybars al-Manşūrī*)

¹⁰ Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov*, I, 117. (*Baybars al-Manşūrī*); V. L. Egorov, *Istoricheskaia geografiia Zolotoi ordy v XIII-XV vv*, Moskva 1985, 34, 193; I. Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars – Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans 1185-1365*, Cambridge 2005, 97, n. 42; A. Uzelac, *Pod senkom Psa: Tatari i južnoslovenske zemlje u drugoi polovini XIII veka*. [Under the Shadow of the Dog: Tatars and the South Slavic Lands in the Second Half of the 13th century] Beograd 2015, 166-168.

¹¹ Rashid ad-Din, *Sbornik letopisei*, II, 86, mentions that 'the old yurt of Nogai' was on the banks of Dniester. On the map of the Venetian cartographer Andrea Bianco (1436), a sign 'ya nogai' stands at the mouth of Dniester, next to the port of Maurocastro. On later maps, on the same spot, it is frequently inscribed 'insula/isola nogay', A. Iu. Gordieiev, "Toponimika uzberezhia Chornogo ta Azovs'kogo moriv na kartah-portolanah XIV-XVII stolit,'" [Toponymy of the Coast of the Black and Azov Sea on the Portolan Charts of XIV-XVII centuries] *Visnyk geodezii ta kartografii* 2 (2013), 30.

¹² E. Oberländer-Târnoaveanu, "Numismatical Contributions to the History of South-Eastern Europe at the End of the 13th Century," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 26 (1987) 245-258; L. Lazarov, "Sur un type de monnaies en cuivre avec la tamgha de Nogaj," *Bulgarian Historical Review* 4 (1997) 3-12; P. Petrov, "Den'gy y denezhnaia polytyka Dzhuchydov v XIII-XV vv." In: *Zolotaia orda v mirovoi istorii*, 625-626.

¹³ P. Pavlov, "Tatarite na Nogaj, B'lgariia i Vizantiia (okolo 1270-1302 g.)," [Tatars of Nogai, Bulgaria and Byzantium (c.1270-1302)] In: *B'lgarite v Severnoto Prichernomorie*, IV, Veliko T'rnovo 1995, 121-130; A. Uzelac, "Tatars and Serbs at the End of the Thirteenth Century," *Revista de Istorie Militară* 5-6 (2011) 9-20.

on the northwestern Black Sea coast on the other, traditionally divided not only by their way of life, but also by their affiliation to various ethnolinguistic and confessional groups. The descendants of the Cumans were recognised by some prominent scholars as the main force behind Nogai's political and military power.¹⁴ They made up a large percentage of the nomadic population in Nogai's lands. Among other significant groups in the Pontic steppes, one can also include Brodniki, the inhabitants of the lands in the Dniester-Danube interfluvium before the Mongol invasion. They might have been of mixed Slavic and Turkic origin.¹⁵

In Nogai's lands, there were also Alans or As/Yas, as they were frequently called in the Slavic, Hungarian, or Arabic sources. Although sporadically present in the Pontic Steppes and Crimea in the earlier period, it is usually assumed that they were settled in a larger number after their defeat in the Caucasus, inflicted by *Möngke Temür* in 1277/78.¹⁶ Their settlement in the Pontic steppes is possibly indicated by archeological traces, such as the necropolis from the village of Kairi on the Lower Dnieper,¹⁷ and more strikingly by the local toponymy of Moldova and Western Ukraine, including *Jasski Torg* (Iași), attested since the late 14th or early 15th century, the places Jasska and Olănești on the left and right bank of Dniester respectively, and Kichkas on the left bank of Dnieper.¹⁸ On the Hereford Mappa Mundi (c.1290-1300), one of the left tributaries of the Lower Danube, probably Prut, is named 'Alanus fluvius', while on the portolan chart of Genoese cartographer Giovanni Carignano (c.1310), the name 'Alania' is written north of the Danube delta.¹⁹ For the Venetian traveller

¹⁴ See for example L. Gumilev, *Ot Rusi do Rossii*, Moskva 1995, 149.

¹⁵ After the Mongol invasion, the Land of Brodniki was mentioned only once, among the countries bordering Hungary and subjected to the Mongols, in a letter of the Hungarian King Béla IV sent to the Pope Innocentius IV, probably in 1247. A. Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, I, Romae 1859, 231; O. B. Bubenok, *Jasy i brodniki v stepiakh Vostochnoi Evrope (VI – nachalo na XIII vv.)*, Kiev 1997, 125–137; V. Spinei, *The Romanians and the Turkic Nomads North of the Danube Delta from the Tenth to the Mid-Thirteenth Century*, Leiden–Boston 2009, 159–161.

¹⁶ V. A. Kuznecov, *Ocherki istorii Alan*, Vladikavkaz 1992, 337–341; A. Alemany, "Alans contra Catalans a Bizanci (I): L'origen des Alans de Girgon," [Alans against Catalans in Byzantium (I): Origins of the Alans of Girgon] *Faventia* 12–13 (1990) 274–276; O. B. Bubenok, *Alany-asy v Zolotoi Orde (XIII–XV vv.)*, Kiev 2004, 168–169.

¹⁷ Bubenok, *Alany-asy v Zolotoi Orde*, 175–183.

¹⁸ M. N. Tikhomirov, "Spisok russkikh gorodov dal'nykh i bliznykh," *Istoricheskie zapiski* 40 (1952) 223; Kuznecov, *Ocherki istorii Alan*, 352–353; Bubenok, *Alany-asy v Zolotoi Orde*, 172–173, 232–234.

¹⁹ V. Spinei, *Moldavia in the 11th–14th Centuries*, Bucharest 1986, 144; Alemany, *Alans contra Catalans a Bizanci*, 273; V. Ciociltan, *Les Alans et le commencement des états roumains*, *Studia Asiatica* 1 (2000) 50; D. Dana–M. Radu, "Transilvania pe harta de la Hereford (sec. XIII)," [Transylvania on the Hereford Map (XIII Century)] *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie* 20 (2002) 258–259.

Giosaphat Barbaro (1413-1494), the whole area between the Crimea and the mouth of Dniester carried the name 'Alania'.²⁰

The sources also enumerate other peoples under Nogai's rule. In some manuscripts of the large opus of celebrated Persian historian *Rashīd al-Dīn* (c.1247-1318), it is stated that Nogai established himself in the lands of the Russians and the Vlachs.²¹ Pachymeres mentions the various inhabitants of the northern Black Sea coast, using sometimes archaic ethnonyms, in order to show the ethnic diversity of Nogai's lands. Rus', Zichians (Circassians), Alans, and Goths are specifically mentioned in his work. According to him, all these peoples who were ruled by Nogai "acquired Tatar customs, language and dresses, became their allies, and thus the Tatars became innumerable and their armies invincible".²² In a similar manner, the Catalan chronicler Ramon Muntaner stated that "Alans live after the manner of the Tartars; they always march with all their belongings and never lodge in city or town or village [...] and are held to be the best cavalry in the East."²³

In Nogai's domains, it seems that the Mongol newcomers made up an exceptionally small percent of the whole population, and that they were less present than in the other regions of the Golden Horde; only one Mongol tribe, Khadarkhin or Adargin, as they are called in *The Secret History of the Mongols*, is recorded. According to *Rashīd al-Dīn*, its members formed a *mingghan*, or regiment of a thousand that served under Nogai, but were resettled and scattered to other Juchid lands after his defeat.²⁴ Nonetheless, it needs to be mentioned that in recent decades, archaeologists have revealed the existence of necropolises in the valley of the river Ialpug, bordering Moldova and Ukraine, dated broadly to the 13th-14th centuries that indicate the presence of the populations from the East in the Danube-Dniester interfluvium, a region that constituted the core of Nogai's lands.²⁵

²⁰ *Travels to Tana and Persia*, by Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini, trans. W. Thomas, London 1873, 16.

²¹ Rashid ad-Din, *Sbornik letopisei*, II, 83; V. G. Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov*, II, 69, n. 11.

²² Georges Pachymères, *Relations Historiques*, II, 444-445.

²³ *The Chronicle of Muntaner*, II, trans. A. Goodenough, London 1921, 534; A. Alemany, *Sources on the Alans: A Critical Compilation*, Leiden 2000, 302-307.

²⁴ Rashid ad-Din, *Sbornik letopisei*, I/1, ed. L. A. Khetagurov, A. A. Semenov, Moskva-Leningrad 1952, 190; L. Bese, "On Some Ethnic Names in 13th Century Inner Asia," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 42 (1988) 17-18.

²⁵ G. Postică, E. Sava and S. Agulnikov, "Morminte ale nomazilor turanici medievali din tumulii de lângă Taraclia și Cazaclia," [Graves of Turanic Medieval Nomads in the tumuli near Taraclia and Cazaclia] *Memoria Antiquitatis* 20 (1995) 141-171; G. Postică-E. Sava, "Complexe funerare ale nomazilor medievali de lângă satul Balabani, raionul Taraclia, Republica Moldova," [Funerary complexes of medieval nomads near the village Balabani, Region of Taraclia, Moldova] *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie* 47:1 (1996) 63-89.

Keen observers, Pachymeres, and Muntaner were aware of the processes of the integration of various groups, newcomers and natives alike, into the Chinggisid system of power and government. The Turkic and Mongol personal names of Nogai's military commanders and emissaries, recorded by *Baybars al-Manṣūrī* and *Rashīd al-Dīn*,²⁶ and in the Russian chronicles (Tegichag, Kutlubuga, Konchak, Kozei, Kubatan, Eshimut and Mamshei),²⁷ are another indication of the mixed origin of his elite. The close relations established between the "conquerors" and the "conquered" are reflected in the personal names of the two most prominent associates of Nogai: Taz, his son-in-law, and Tonguz, who was the brother of one of Nogai's wives, as well as Nogai's two sons Juca (Chaka) and Tuka, who are considered to be of Turkic, rather than of Mongol origin.²⁸ The names of Turkic origin are attested in the case of the two Alan leaders, Itil (Ἰτίλης) and Temür (Τεμήρης), who emigrated to the Balkans after Nogai's defeat.²⁹ In the early 14th century, the unified Principality of Wallachia emerged in the territory that constituted the westernmost parts of Nogai's domains. Its first ruler Ivanco Basarab (c.1320-1351) and his father Thocomerius (Toq-Temür?)³⁰ also bore Turkic or Mongolian names. This is evidence of their political, cultural, and ideological background rather than their ethnic origin.

The "Tatarization" of the various ethnic and social groups in Nogai's lands does not imply that the diverse population of his domains acquired a new identity altogether. There are indications that the so-called *ulus* system of political organisation was not introduced in the western parts of Nogai's lands, and that the Cuman population in the frontier regions of southern Moldavia and eastern Wallachia managed to preserve their internal autonomy, at least until the eighties of the 13th century. A Hungarian chronicle mentions a certain Oldamur "Dux Cumaniae",³¹ who provided help to the rebellious Cuman

²⁶ Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov*, I, 111, 113 (Baybars al-Manṣūrī); Rashid ad-Din, *Sbornik letopisei*, II, 85.

²⁷ *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei*, T. II: *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, Sankt-Peterburg 1908, col. 876, 881-882.

²⁸ Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica. Die Byzantinischen Quellen Der Geschichte Der Türkvölker*, II, Leiden 1983, 310; P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde*, Oeuvres posthumes de Paul Pelliot, II, Paris 1949, 79-81, 95-96; D. DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Türkles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition*, University Park PA 1994, 118-119; Alemany, *Sources on the Alans*, 252; Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 92, n. 20.

²⁹ *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris historiarum libri IV*, ed. L. Shopen, Bonnae 1828, 173; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 257; Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 124.

³⁰ N. Radojčić, *Zakonik cara Stefana Dušana 1349. i 1354.* [The Code of Law of Tsar Stephen Dušan from 1349 and 1354] Beograd 1960, 84; Gy. Györffy, "Adatok a románok XIII. századi történetéhez és a román állam kezdeteihez," [Contributions about the History of the Romanians in the 13th Century and the Beginnings of the Romanian State] *Történelmi Szemle* 7 (1964) 555.

³¹ "Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV," ed. A. Domanovsky, in: *E. Szentpétery* (ed.) *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, I, Budapest 1937, 417; "Chronicon

groups in Hungary, against King Ladislas IV (1272-1290) when they rose to arms in 1282. The allied forces of the Hungarian Cumans and their kinsmen from the other side of the Carpathians suffered heavy defeat at the hands of the army led by Ladislas IV in the battle of the now non-existent Lake Hód, not far from Szeged. Many of the Cumans were forced to flee across the Carpathians to Wallachia afterwards, and their exodus was one of the main factors that eventually prompted Nogai's attack on Hungary three years later.³² The details of that military campaign are beyond the scope of this text, but it is noteworthy that although Oldamur's actions could not have taken place without Nogai's approval, his denomination as "Dux Cumaniae" suggests that he was rather a dependant of the Chinggisid leader than an ordinary military commander in his service. Conspicuously enough, when referring to the events that took place a decade later, the Serbian archbishop Danilo II (c.1270-1337), biographer of King Stephen Uroš II Milutin (1282-1321), also made a distinction between the Cumans and the Tatars on the left bank of the lower Danube, in the lands under Nogai's rule.³³

Cities and ports on the northern shores of the Black Sea were inhabited by Italian, Greek, Armenian, Muslim, Slavic, and Tatar traders and artisans. They were connected with its nomadic hinterland through the exchange of goods and loyalty to the same master. Among these urban centres, the most significant ones lied in the Danube delta, where Nogai gradually emerged as the undisputed master of the region. Probably in 1273, Nogai made an agreement with the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (1258-1282) and married his illegitimate daughter Euphrosyne, which led to the establishment of two spheres of influence: Tatar in Sakchi and Byzantine in the neighbouring port of Vicina (its exact location is still a matter of dispute). This division was continued until 1285 when Nogai eventually broke the alliance with Michael's successor Andronikos II (1282-1328) and consequently eliminated the Byzantine political power in the Danube delta. Despite the political turbulence, Vicina remained the most important local Genoese centre of trade throughout this period. Genoese traders also visited the neighbouring port of Maurocastro (Akkerman, Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiy) at the mouth of the Dniester, which appears for the first time in the notarial acts from Caffa in 1290.³⁴ In 1294, at the

Posoniense," ed. A. Domanovsky, in: E. Szentpétery (ed.) *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, II, Budapest 1938, 44.

³² V. Spinei, *The Great Migrations in the East and South East of Europe from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Century*, Cluj-Napoca 2003, 316; Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 106; Uzelac, *Pod senkom Psa*, 151-152.

³³ Arhiepiskop Danilo i drugi, *Životi kraljeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih*. [Archbishop Danilo and others, *Lives of Serbian Kings and Archbishops*] ed. Đ. Daničić, Zagreb 1866, 115.

³⁴ M. Balard, *Gênes et l'Outre-Mer*, T. I: *Les actes de Caffa du notaire Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1289-1290*. Paris-La Haye 1973, 206. See also: Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans, Cambridge MA 1936, 42; A. A. Kravchenko, *Srednevekovyi Belgorod na Dnestre (kon. XIII-XIV v.)*, Kiev 1986.

height of his power, Nogai decided to counter the Genoese monopoly in the Black Sea by allowing their Venetian adversaries to establish the consulate in his lands.³⁵

There is indirect, but nonetheless important, evidence that Nogai promoted cooperation between the highest circles of the urban communes and the steppe aristocracy. Georgios Pachymeres described how the Bulgarian prince Theodore Svetoslav found himself in poverty in the late 13th century. He was present in Nogai's lands evidently as a political fugitive, and not as a hostage, as is usually supposed. The prince then met a rich merchant named Pandoleon and married his granddaughter Euphrosyne. The father of the bride was a certain Mankous (the name is probably a Greek form of names *Möngke* or *Mangush*), and her godmother was the namesake of Nogai's Byzantine wife, which shows that the marriage must have been concluded under Nogai's auspices.³⁶ More information about the origin of the bride of Theodore Svetoslav has been preserved in the work of *Baybars al-Manṣūrī*, according to whom she was a cousin of Chaka (and his father Nogai).³⁷ Evidently, Euphrosyne, the wife of the Bulgarian prince, was related to Nogai's lineage, via her Tatar father Mankous, but she was also either of Greek or Genoese origin, via her maternal grandfather Pandoleon.³⁸ It has been supposed that her grandfather may be identical to a certain Pantaleo from Vicina, mentioned in one of the Genoese documents relating several financial transactions in Pera near Constantinople in 1281.³⁹ Be that as it may, the origin of Euphrosyne, who was destined to become the empress of Bulgaria in 1301, clearly demonstrates the existence of marital ties between the two elites in Nogai's lands.

³⁵ *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, III, ed. R. Cessi, Bologna 1934, 315; Ș. Papacostea, *La Mer Noire: carrefour des grandes routes intercontinentales, 1204-1453*, București 2006, 108-109; V. Ciociltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, Leiden-Boston 2012, 160.

³⁶ Georges Pachymères, *Relations Historiques*, III, ed. A. Failler, Paris 1999, 290-291; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 179; P. Pavlov, "Teodor Svetoslav, Nogai i t'rgovec't Pandoleon," [Theodore Svetoslav, Nogai and the Merchant Pandoleon] In: *Istoriko-arheologicheski izsledvaniia v pamet na prof. dr. Stancho Vaklinov*, Veliko T'rnovo 1994, 177-185; K. Kr'stev, *B'lgarskoto carstvo pri dinastiata na Terterevci (1280-1323)*, [The Bulgarian Empire under the Terter dynasty (1280-1323)], Plovdiv 2011, 226.

³⁷ Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov*, I, 117 (Baybars al-Manṣūrī); Kr'stev, *B'lgarskoto carstvo*, 109-110. The Arabic writer was not only well acquainted with the contemporary events and key participants in the internal Juchid conflict, but it also seems that his source of information came from the closest circles of Nogai's family, A. A. Porsin, "Istochnik informacii Rukn ad-Dina Beibarsa v osveshchenii im mezhdousobnoi voyny v Zolotoi Orde v konce XIII nachale XIV vekov," *Zolotoordynskoe obozrenie* 4 (2015) 29-53.

³⁸ A. Uzelac, "The Port of Maurocastro, Emperor Theodore Svetoslav and the Tatar Elite in the Pontic Steppes," *Istoriiski časopis* 65 (2016) 52-55.

³⁹ Gh. Brătianu, *Recherches sur Vicina et Cetatea Albă*, Bucharest 1935, 48, 173; Ciociltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*, 260.

Nogai himself was a Muslim, “a devout follower of Muhammad’s teachings”, as he presented himself in a letter to the Mamluk sultan Baybars al-Bunduqdari (1260-1277), from August/September 1270.⁴⁰ He probably belonged to those members of the Juchid elite who converted to Islam during the reign of Berke (1258-1266).⁴¹ The religious conversion is a characteristic detail from Nogai’s biography, but its importance has often been overstated. Two influential people, to whom Nogai owed his rise to power, Berke and Jijak-khatun, were Muslims, and his adoption of the new religion primarily reveals his desire to secure the support of the pro-Islamic faction among the Juchids. It also opened the door for Nogai’s affirmation on the international scene, especially for the improvement of his standing with the main Juchid ally, the Mamluk court in Cairo.

On the contrary, and similarly to other early Mongol rulers, Nogai’s policies in religious matters were characterised by pragmatism. He did not strive to impose the new religion on members of his family. One of his wives, the Byzantine princess Eyphrosyne, remained an Orthodox Christian after her marriage. Chief Nogai’s wife Yaylak was also Christian, but she embraced the Roman Catholic faith. Her baptism, performed by Franciscans in the Crimean city of Kirk-Yer (Chufut-Kale), was described in detail in a letter of Ladislás, head of the Franciscan mission of the Province of Gazaria, dated from April 1287.⁴² It has been supposed that Nogai’s oldest son Chaka was Muslim, and it is certain that Kabak, daughter of Nogai and Yaylak, accepted the Islamic faith, but not at her father’s court. She embraced Islam on her own will, after she married a prominent member of the Khongirad tribe, and despite the wishes of her Buddhist husband.⁴³

During Nogai’s rule, Islam indeed gained several footholds in his domains. The above-mentioned Franciscan letter, as well as the Arabic sources, reveal the presence of the Muslim community in Solkhat (Staryi Krym).⁴⁴ Moreover, the famous geographer Abū-l-Fidā’ from Hama (1273-1331) described Sakchi at the beginning of the 14th century as a mid-sized town, with a Muslim major-

⁴⁰ Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov*, I, 101–102. (*Baybars al-Manṣūrī*)

⁴¹ Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 72.

⁴² G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francese*, II, Quaracchi-Firenze 1913, 443–445; Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde*, 77–79; T. Tănase, “Le ‘khan’ Nogaï et la géopolitique de la mer Noire en 1287 à travers un document missionnaire: la lettre de Ladislás, custode de Gazarie,” *Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica* 6–7 (2004–2005) 267–301; R. Hautala, “Islamizacija tatar soglasno latinskim istochnikam konca XIII – pervoi poloviny XIV veka,” In: I. M. Mirgaleev–Je. G. Saifetdinova (eds.), *Islam i vlast’ v Zolotoi orde*, Kazan’ 2012, 37–38; Sz. Kovács, “A Franciscan’s Letter from the Crimea (1287),” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 69:2 (2016) 157–164.

⁴³ Rashid ad-Din, *Sbornik letopisei*, II, 84–85.

⁴⁴ Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov*, I, 363, 435 (*Ibn al-Furāt*, al-Maqrizī).

ity.⁴⁵ His words are undoubtedly an exaggeration, but they should not be dismissed altogether. There were certainly Arabic merchants and traders who settled in Nogai's lands, and one of them may have been a certain Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr, who was his envoy in a diplomatic mission to Constantinople and Cairo in 1282.⁴⁶ Unlike the inhabitants of the maritime cities and towns, the nomadic population did not have much contact with Islam. According to *Baybars al-Manṣūrī*, after Nogai's death, many of his men were captured, sold into slavery, and ended up in Egypt. Many agreed to be converted in order to ease their conditions, but only after their arrival at the Levantine slave markets.⁴⁷

The Roman Catholic Church did not have its own seat in Nogai's lands. According to an unreliable Dominican source of a later date, the first bishop of Genoese Caffa was a member of this order, Giovanni di Roano, who was allegedly ordained as early as in 1268.⁴⁸ However, any other information about the bishopric is lacking before 1318, when its domains were delineated by Pope John XXII,⁴⁹ and its existence in the earlier period is highly doubtful. The same might be said about the so-called Cuman bishopric, established before the Mongol invasion and destroyed in 1241. According to a letter of Pope Nicholas III (1277-1280) from 1278, this diocese, with its seat in the region of Milcov (*Civitas de Multo, posita in confinibus Tartarorum*), was at the time without a bishop and Christian souls.⁵⁰ Therefore, the proselytizing role completely fell upon the shoulders of the Friars Minorites. Their activities in the Golden Horde began after the Council of Lyon in 1274, when the Vicariate of Northern Tataria was founded. It was divided into two custodies, Sarai and Gazaria or Crimea, which had under its jurisdiction the areas between Don and Danube. The letter of Ladislas, leader of the Franciscans in Gazaria reveals that, besides the baptism of Yaylak, they managed to achieve other successes. In the beginning of 1287, one of the friars, names Moyses, was welcomed in Vicina, at that time already under Nogai's control, by a Tatar *millenarius* or chiliarch Arghun and in this place he baptized several noble Tatar families.⁵¹

The Greek Orthodox Church with its two seats in Crimean Soldaia (Sudak) and Danubian Vicina had stronger foundations than its Roman Catholic counterparts. Soldaia was an old orthodox eparchy. Its bishops regularly visited

⁴⁵ *Géographie d'Aboulféda: texte arabe publié d'après les manuscrits de Paris et de Leyde*, II/1, ed. P. Reynaud, Paris 1848, 316; I. G. Konovalova, *Vostochnaia Evropa v sochinenijakh arabskikh geografov XIII-XIV vv. – tekst, perevod, komentarii*, Moskva 2009, 120.

⁴⁶ Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov*, I, 362 (Ibn al-Furāt).

⁴⁷ Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov*, I, 114-115, 122 (Baybars al-Manṣūrī).

⁴⁸ M. Canale, *Della Crimea del suo commercio e de suoi dominatori*, Genova 1855, 210.

⁴⁹ L. Waddingus, *Annales minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum*, VI, Romae 1783, 549; Spinei, *Moldavia in the 11th-14th Centuries*, 124-125.

⁵⁰ Theiner, *Vetera monumenta*, I, 337; V. Spinei, "The Cuman Bishopric – Genesis and Evolution," In: *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages: Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans*, ed. F. Curta, R. Kovalev, Leiden-Boston 2008, 413-456.

⁵¹ See footnote 42.

Juchid rulers and provided useful advice to the travellers regarding how to behave in order to stay on friendly terms with the Tatars, according to the eyewitness testimony of the celebrated traveller William of Rubruck in 1253.⁵² The activities of its prelates led to the successful christianization of the local population, as shown by numerous mentions of people with dual Christian and Turkic names from the late 13th century, preserved in a Greek Synaxarion from Soldaia.⁵³ The metropolity in Vicina was founded after Nogai concluded an alliance with Michael VIII. It is mentioned for the first time in 1285, when its metropolitan Theodore participated in the so-called Second Council of Blachernae in Constantinople.⁵⁴ Approximately at that time, the Tatars took control over his residence, but the metropolity continued to exist, albeit in a new political climate. The metropolity of Vicina is mentioned in one of the notitias of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate from the late 13th century,⁵⁵ and in 1301 the metropolitan mediated between the Byzantine authorities and Orthodox Alans, former Nogai's subjects, numbering some 10 to 16 thousand people, who wanted to enter the Byzantine service.⁵⁶

Orthodox Christianity was known to the Cumans even before the Mongol invasion,⁵⁷ and during Nogai's era it successfully spread from the Crimea and the Danube delta into the interior of Nogai's domains. The Venetian writer Mario Sanudo the Elder (1260-1338) explicitly remarked that the population of Gazaria belonged to Greek Christianity, and even the celebrated traveller Ibn Battuta admitted that the local "Kipchaks" were predominantly Christian.⁵⁸

⁵² *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. I: *Itinera et relationes fratrum minorum saeculi XIII et XIV*, ed. A. van den Wyngaert, Quaracchi-Firenze 1929, 168; *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke 1253-1255*, ed. & trans. P. Jackson, D. Morgan, London 1990, 67.

⁵³ Arh. Antonin, "Zametki XII-XV veka, otnosiashhiesia k krymskomu g. Sugdee (Sudaku), pripisannye na grecheskom Sinaksare," *Zapiski Odesskogo obshhestva istorii i drevnosti* 5 (1863) 595-628; I. Vásáry, "Orthodox Christian Cumans and Tatars of the Crimea in the 13th-14th Centuries", *Central Asiatic Journal* 32 (1988) 260-271.

⁵⁴ P. Năsturel, "Les fastes épiscopaux de la metropole de Vicina," *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 21 (1976) 37-38; G. Atanasov, *Dobrudzhansko despotstvo (k'm politicheskata, c'rkovnata, stopanskata i kulturnata istoriia na Dobrudzha prez XIV v.)*. [The Despotate of Dobrudja (About Political, Ecclesiastical, Economic and Cultural History of Dobrudja in the 14th Century)] Veliko T'rnovo 2009, 30-31.

⁵⁵ *Notitiae episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae: texte critique, introduction et notes*, ed. J. Darrouzès, Paris 1981, 386.

⁵⁶ Georges Pachymérès, *Relations Historiques*, IV, ed. A. Failler, Paris 1999, 336-339; *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia*, I, ed. L. Schopen, Bonnae 1829, 204; Alemany, *Sources on the Alans*, 214-218.

⁵⁷ O. Osipian, "Poshyrennia hrystyianstva sered polovciv XI-XV ct." [The Spread of Christianity Among the Polovtsy in XI-XV Centuries] *Kyi'vs'ka starovyna* 1 (2005) 3-28, *Kyi'vs'ka starovyna* 2 (2005) 3-22.

⁵⁸ *Voyages d' Ibn Batoutah*, II, ed. and trans. C. Defremery, B. Sanguinetti, Paris 1855, 357; C. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, Berlin 1873, 143.

However, it can be supposed that at least part of the Turkic population in the Pontic steppes was still out of reach of the Mediterranean religions, clinging to the old beliefs. In this aspect, it is noteworthy to remember the experiences of Josaphat Barbaro two centuries later, who was told by his local guides that there were still “many Idolaters among these people, but they had to practice their beliefs secretly”.⁵⁹

A few words remain to be said about the presence of Buddhism in Nogai’s lands, a religion confessed and practiced by many members of the Juchid elite at the end of the 13th century (including khan Tokhta). The first indication is provided by *Rashīd al-Dīn*, who recorded how Nogai sent certain Buddhist relics to the Ilkhanid ruler Arghun (1284-1291) during their negotiations in 1288;⁶⁰ the second can be found in the work of Pachymeres. The Byzantine historian related the story of a certain Kutzimpaxis (Kuchin-bakshi or Khojabashi, which is rather a title than a personal name), Nogai’s confidant, who, after his death, fled with his family and followers on a ship to Pontic Heraclea (Karadeniz Ereğli), in Byzantine Asia Minor. He agreed to become a Christian and he was even ordained as a governor in Nicomedia by Andronikos II. Afterwards, he was accused of conspiring against the Emperor and ended up in prison, but he managed to escape. His fortunes and misfortunes in Byzantium have to be omitted in this paper, but it is important to note that Pachymeres decribed Kutzimpaxis as a “follower of the religion of the Persians” (that is, the Mongols in Persia, notwithstanding the fact that Buddhism fell out of prominence among the Ilkhanids at the time), and also as “the first among the Nogai’s mages”.⁶¹ This is valuable evidence not only of the existence of Buddhists in the Pontic steppes, but also of their organisation and influence in the circles surrounding Nogai.

Based on the presented preliminary remarks, it may be concluded that the territories stretching from the Dnieper-Don interfluvium to the southwest arches of the Carpathians were inhabited by nomadic and sedentary populations, who practiced various religious beliefs and represented a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional “state”. It was united by the Chinggisid ideology, as well as the power and charisma of its Juchid leader, who promoted a stronger sense of cohesion among the different groups of his domains. The reports of Pachy-

⁵⁹ *Travels to Tana and Persia*, 16.

⁶⁰ Rashid ad-Din, *Sbornik letopisei*, III, ed. A. K. Arends et al., Moskva-Leningrad 1946, 117-118; V. P. Kostjukov, “Buddizm v kul’ture Zolotoi Ordy,” In: *Tiurkologicheskii sbornik 2007-2008*, Moskva 2009, 195.

⁶¹ Georges Pachymères, *Relations Historiques*, IV, 378-379, 602-603, 626-629, 648-649. The Tatar adventurer was also mentioned by Constantinopolitan Patriarch Athanasios I (1303-1310) in one of his letters, A. M. Maffry Talbot, *The Correspondence of Athanasius I, Patriarch of Constantinople*. Washington DC 1975, 114-117. R. Shukurov, *The Byzantine Turks. 1204-1461*, Leiden-Boston 2016, 232-233, thinks that Kutzimpaxis adhered to Mongol shamanism, but cf. E. Zachariadou, “Observations on Some Turcica of Pachymeres,” *Revue des études byzantines* 36 (1978) 262-263.

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meres and Muntaner, but also the notices about the origin of Euphrosyne, the Bulgarian princess of Tatar origin, are particularly important in this aspect. Despite Nogai's attempts, it needs to be admitted that the foundations of his power remained fragile. They were shaken during the war against Tokhta (1297-1299/1300), when he was faced with the rebellion of the Crimean cities and the desertion of many of his commanders who joined the opposing side. The discord weakened Nogai's army to such an extent that it eventually led to his defeat, death, and the downfall of his "empire" on the western fringes of the Golden Horde.

